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The Persistence of the Andalusian Identity in Rabat, Morocco

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The Persistence of the Andalusian Identity in Rabat, Morocco

Abstract

This thesis investigates the problem of how an historical identity persists within a community in Rabat, Morocco, that traces its ancestry to Spain. Called Andalusians, these Moroccans are descended from Spanish Muslims who were first forced to convert to Christianity after 1492, and were expelled from the Iberian peninsula in the early seventeenth century. I conducted both ethnographic and historical archival research among Rabati Andalusian families. There are four main reasons for the persistence of the Andalusian identity in spite of the strong acculturative forces of religion, language, and culture in Moroccan society. First, the presence of a strong historical continuity of the Andalusian heritage in North Africa has provided a dominant history into which the exiled communities could integrate themselves. Second, the predominant practice of endogamy, as well as other social practices, reinforces an intergenerational continuity among Rabati Andalusians. Third, the Andalusian identity is a single identity that has a complex range of sociocultural contexts in which it is both meaningful and flexible. And fourth, non-Andalusian Moroccans reinforce the cultural meanings behind the importance of being Andalusian, based on the affinity most Moroccans have for the Andalusian Spanish heritage. The dissertation concludes by drawing upon comparative ethnographic material by way of testing the validity of the four reasons in contexts outside of Morocco. This thesis contributes both theoretically and ethnographically to the anthropological literature. Theoretically, it offers a general pattern to the persistence of identity while also utilizing and building onto synchronic identity studies and studies of acculturation and assimilation in anthropology by looking at the processual context of the Andalusian identity. Ethnographically, this dissertation contributes a description of a cultural group so far not represented in anthropology and also looks at a culturally elite group, a class that is under-represented in the literature.

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THE PERSISTENCE OF THE ANDALUSIAN IDENTITY
IN RABAT, MOROCCO

Beebe Bahrami

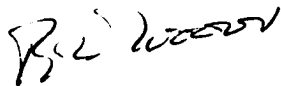
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in

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Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania
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1995



Supervisor of Dissertation



Graduate Group Chairperson

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1995

To
Hassan, Nahid, Ali,
Pedare, Madare,
and Birch,
for a lifetime of
love, belief, and support

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ABSTRACT

THE PERSISTENCE OF THE ANDALUSIAN IDENTITY

IN RABAT, MOROCCO

BEEBE BAHRAMI

BRIAN SPOONER

This thesis investigates the problem of how an historical identity persists within a community in Rabat, Morocco, that traces its ancestry to Spain. Called Andalusians, these Moroccans are descended from Spanish Muslims who were first forced to convert to Christianity after 1492, and were expelled from the Iberian peninsula in the early seventeenth century. I conducted both ethnographic and historical archival research among Rabati Andalusian families. There are four main reasons for the persistence of the Andalusian identity in spite of the strong acculturative forces of religion, language, and culture in Moroccan society. First, the presence of a strong historical continuity of the Andalusian heritage in North Africa has provided a dominant history into which the exiled communities could integrate themselves. Second, the predominant practice of endogamy, as well as other social practices, reinforces an intergenerational continuity among Rabati Andalusians. Third, the Andalusian identity is a

single identity that has a complex range of sociocultural contexts in which it is both meaningful and flexible. And fourth, non-Andalusian Moroccans reinforce the cultural meanings behind the importance of being Andalusian, based on the affinity most Moroccans have for the Andalusian Spanish heritage. The dissertation concludes by drawing upon comparative ethnographic material by way of testing the validity of the four reasons in contexts outside of Morocco. This thesis contributes both theoretically and ethnographically to the anthropological literature. Theoretically, it offers a general pattern to the persistence of identity while also utilizing and building onto synchronic identity studies and studies of acculturation and assimilation in anthropology by looking at the processual context of the Andalusian identity. Ethnographically, this dissertation contributes a description of a cultural group so far not represented in anthropology and also looks at a culturally elite group, a class that is under-represented in the literature.

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Note on Transliteration

Words from classical written Arabic are transliterated following the romanization tables in the ALA-LC, 1991, Washington: Library of Congress. Moroccan Colloquial Arabic words conform either to the Library of Congress format or, if a popularized written form already exists, that transliteration takes precedence.

Chapter 1 Introduction to Theory, Method, and Setting

I. Introduction

About twenty years ago a review article on the use of the identity concept in anthropology saw three central areas of inquiry in the anthropological literature on identity: identity-health; identity-interaction; and identity-world view (Robbins, 1973). Respectively, these three areas of interest were concerned with the individual as a well-adjusted versus a maladjusted member of society (Erikson, 1968; Lerner, 1968; and Wheelis, 1958), the individual as concerned with self-concept in interaction with others and how self-concept in turn designated a person's place in society (Cooley, 1956; Goffman, 1959, 1961 and 1963; Goodenough, 1965; Mead, 1934; and Spradley, 1970), and the individual as important in understanding the larger issues of worldview and the nature of culture (Hallowell, 1955 and 1959; Lee, 1959; and Wallace, 1967 and 1968). While Robbins' assessment of identity literature offered a useful summary, he overlooked a few of the important contributions to identity studies, such as studies of culture and personality, and status and role. Moreover, Robbins did not elaborate on the more philosophical debate in anthropology which questioned the place of identity as either a social or a psychological phenomenon, as well as the philosophical question of perceptions of self. Also, since the twenty

years that Robbins' review article was written, two significant areas of identity research have opened up: diachronic studies of identity formation and identity maintenance through historical investigations, and post-structuralist considerations of the individual's role in society and culture.

Identity has been used in many ways and in many contexts in anthropology. Because of the breadth of application of the identity concept, a complete summary of the material would be impossible. There are five main approaches to the identity concept in anthropology, which are: identity as a part of culture and personality studies; identity as either a social or a personal phenomenon; identity as a cultural and symbolic phenomenon; identity as a synchronic systems-oriented phenomenon; and identity as a processual phenomenon. Common to all approaches to identity is the perennial concern for how the individual, society, and culture are interconnected. Identity can be seen as the inner and outer expression for how the individual is making these interconnections through the interpretation of his society and culture. The primary concern of this dissertation is the persistence of identity and therefore, identity is considered in both its synchronic and diachronic expressions. Given this focus, many of the above approaches to identity have been considered in understanding the Andalusian identity in Rabat. Because of this, before

launching into a discussion of the problem explored in this dissertation, a review of the five anthropological approaches to identity follows.

II. Approaches to Identity in Anthropology

A. Early Studies Concerning Identity: Culture and Personality Studies

A classical area of identity literature in anthropology is that of culture and personality studies. Culture and personality, from Boas up to Hallowell and Wallace, take identity and ethnicity as central toward understanding the degree to which an individual is influenced by, and influences, his culture (Benedict, 1928, 1932, 1934, and 1946; Devereux, 1939; DuBois, 1937 and 1944; Fortes, 1983; Hallowell, 1945, 1954, and 1955; Henry, 1936; Jacobson-Widding, 1983; Kardiner, 1945; Lee, 1961; Li An-Che, 1939; Linton, 1945; M. Mead, 1953; Sapir, 1934; and Wallace, 1967, 1968, and 1973). The above scholars view the individual as being shaped through his experiences within a particular culture and in this way also propagating that culture. Hallowell, Wallace and G.H. Mead were the most concerned with the psychological dimension of culture: how culture shaped the individual. G.H. Mead was mostly concerned with the self in a philosophical sense, that is, how the self is

defined and is seen to exist within the structures of society and particularly culture. Other researchers, building off of the work of people such as Wallace, Hallowell, G.H. Mead, Linton, and Goodenough, have carried culture and personality studies into psychoanalytical directions (Crapanzano, 1980) and social psychological directions (Bock, 1988; Kiefer 1977; and LeVine, 1973).

Long before the post-structuralist paradigm in anthropology there was a concern for understanding how the individual influenced and was influenced by culture. Wallace's culture and personality studies view identity as the missing piece of the culture puzzle, and he sees identity as the detail of how self and society create a dynamic that defines culture. Wallace writes that, "among the subjects of potential interest to students of culture and personality, identity has been hitherto largely neglected by anthropologists" (1967:62). Wallace had this concern in common with Hallowell (1955), whose interest in identity focused on what it could illuminate about cultural phenomena, such as world view, ethos, and moral systems.

B. Personal Identity versus Social Identity

Why distinguish between "personal" identity and "social" identity? This distinction is a major area of discussion on what is the phenomenon of identity. It is commonly accepted

that a person must be socially engaged in order to have an identity (Erikson, 1968; and Baumeister, 1986:7). This is similar to anthropological thinking on the "other": contact with another person, especially someone from a group other than one's own, causes one to think about who one is.

Identity is a phenomenon that can only exist in a social context because identity is the process of defining oneself and one's boundaries in another person's presence.

Some writers do not consider the terms personal identity and social identity as defining different phenomena (James, 1952; and Erikson, 1969). Erikson (1968 and 1969) makes no distinction between personal and social identity, seeing the two as a continuum of one identity process, thus referring to identity as "psychosocial" (1969:61). Other writers consciously distinguish the two terms in their analyses, using personal identity as an identity that is more private to the individual than a social identity would be (Goodenough, 1963; and Robbins, 1973:1204). Zavalloni (1983) argues that a cognitive map of the individual person's identity attachments reveals the degrees to which various identities are either personal or social. Also, Dundes (1983) states a similar idea by looking at folklore as a vehicle for revealing the continuum between personal identity and social identity. In a similar direction the works of Fortes (1983), Mauss (1985), and La Fontaine (1985) consider philosophically how the personal and social

perceptions of the self are bound by society and culture. Finally, by way of contrast, Cohen (1974) treats ethnic identity as a phenomenon that can only exist as social and that has no articulation as a personal conception.

C. Identity as Cultural and Symbolic

This area of anthropological investigation looks at identity as a purely symbolic and cognitive phenomenon and the focus is more on what people say they are rather than on what people do in negotiating who they are, the former focus being what an interactionalist analysis would be.

Brandstrom (1986), Kipp (1993), McCready, et.al. (1983), Mitchell (1990), Obeysekere (1981), Ohnuki-Tierney (1981), Olwig (1993), Rosander (1991), and Shibutani and Kwan (1965) all treat identity as symbolic and cognitive. What these studies have in common is a focus on the ideas around an identity rather than a social analysis of the individual usage of a given identity.

D. The Synchronic Interactionalist Approach to Identity

(1) Interactionalists

The interactionalist and situational approaches, that is, context-specific synchronic analyses of identity

(Bennett, 1975; Boisevain, 1985; Vermeulin, 1985; Zenner, 1988), are the most common approaches to the study of identity in anthropology. The main focus of this approach is on how an identity or a set of identities within a group are played out in specific contexts and time frames. Goffman has been perhaps the most influential figure in anthropological understanding of the individual's behavior in the process of circumstantial and synchronic negotiation of identity. His works offer detailed analyses of individuals' decisions in representing themselves to those with whom they are engaged in social interaction (1959 and 1963). Other scholars apply the interactionalist synchronic analysis within broader social contexts. For example, Barth discusses "transactions" in contexts of social differentiation as identity boundary negotiation and maintenance (1951, 1969, and 1983). In a similar way, Bloom (1969), Bourdieu (1958), Driver (1973), Kuper, (1969), Latour (1983), Lockwood (1975), Reminick (1983), Wallman (1983), and Woodard (1986) investigate ethnic identity as it unfolds at points of contact between individuals and groups outside the ethnic group being studied. These studies are invaluable in what they teach about the structure and mechanics of identity within a given situation. For example, the methods and insights of these studies can be applied to investigations on identity concerning a broad range of theoretical issues in order to clarify the focus on

how identities are aroused, used, negotiated, and up- or down-played given varying social circumstances.

(2) Reference Group Theory

Within synchronic analysis, reference group theory is among the important developments in analyzing identity formation and maintenance. This theory states that individuals ally themselves within a core group or groups and refer to their values and expectations of themselves and their group(s) through reference to outside groups and through reference to others within their own group (Merton, 1957; and Hyman, 1968). Such references take on either a positive or a negative value. This is similar to Goffman's idea of impression management which is a combination of both reading what the particular context will permit in self-expression and in expressing aspects of oneself which one wants to impress upon the other person. This impression also takes into account who that other person is. Levine and Campbell (1972) and Shibutani (1961) have used reference group theory in studying ethnic group dynamics and identity attachments to varying groups. Among the strengths of reference group theory is the ability to turn it into a methodology for mapping individuals' perceived and actual social positions within complex societies. For example, an Andalusian whom I interviewed referred many times to "Arabs"

as a positive reference group. Arabs, to this Andalusian, represent all that is refined and civilized in Moroccan culture. This same person referred less frequently and with less comment to the Berbers whom he held as being more limited in their cultural offering and less educated and refined. From these two references one can interpret that this Andalusian individual sees himself as more Arab than Berber and desires to emulate Arab cultural values and not Berber cultural values.

(3) Status, Role, and the Concept of Self: Identity as Social

Anthropology's synchronic analysis of role and status includes identity. Just as Linton discussed ascribed and achieved status with their respective roles, so can one discuss ascribed and acquired identities and the idea that one individual can have many identities along with many statuses and roles (Kopytoff, 1990). Taking Linton's work on status and role, Goodenough (1965) used a structuralist notion that society is rule-governed based on reciprocal relationships which are formed out of the obligations rendered to each person's set of statuses and roles, and structured it further into a "grammar" of social relationships, much as a legal system or a game possesses a grammar. The implications for a person's set of identities

that inform and are informed by this grammar of obligations are viewed in this perspective as equally structured and therefore capable of being mapped. While identity is not the term utilized, what indeed Goodenough's works offer anthropology is a systematic way to understand the definition of an individual's place in their society and thus, the options and limitations on their identities.

While these studies are important in considering synchronic relationships of a person's social identity, they do not account for the greater flexibility and dynamics which society and culture are now known to possess. Nonetheless, within the context of interactionalist studies, specific to one time and place, the analyses of status and role are instrumental in understanding what identities are formed and informed based on a person's place in the society and culture.

E. Identity as a Processual Dynamic Phenomenon

In contrast to a synchronic systems-oriented and interactionalist view of identity is that of processual and dynamic identity studies. The main distinction between a synchronic system's orientation and a processual orientation is the integration of time and change into the investigation of identity of the latter. Two primary areas of inquiry can be distinguished within the processual orientation:

assimilation and acculturation studies; and studies of identity construction in the present through references to the past.

(1) Assimilation and Acculturation

A basic assumption in acculturation and assimilation studies is that an ethnic identity will ultimately blend into the larger society, though the degree of assimilation does vary depending on whether the setting is rural or urban (Basham, 1978; Beals, 1951; Esman, 1977; Gist and Wright, 1973; Hallowell, 1945; Herskovits, 1958; Kroeber, 1931; Rauf, 1974; Redfield, 1934; Redfield and Herskovits, 1936; Rauf, 1974; College of William and Mary [no author], 1986). Thus, while this literature looks at identity as a dynamic force in society and culture, identity is still viewed as going in only one direction, toward assimilation. This does not account for either revitalization of identities, as Wallace (1956) and Hallowell (1945) do, or for the persistence of certain identities. Assimilation and acculturation are nevertheless important in understanding how an identity persists and this theme is expanded on the conclusions in Chapter 8.

(2) The Construction of Identity through references to the past

Studies of identity construction through references to the past view identity as a process which changes in different contexts and ultimately changes into different forms through time. This perspective sees identity as a force which can move in any direction, strengthening or weakening, and seeks to understand the process by which an identity becomes more or less salient in a society. Regardless of the importance of the time factor, these studies are largely interactionalist and focused on the present and how identity in the present draws on the past for the purposes of the present identity context.

Cole (1973) emphasizes the shift from structural analyses toward processual analyses of social life in his study on the impact of the Italian nationalization process on two linguistically, culturally, and politically distinct villages. Cole's concern with ethnicity and social change is for how a national political economy can change the ways the villagers interact with those outside their ethnic circles. No definitive conclusions are made on this process other than to state that one must focus on process, not structure.

A. Cohen (1974) sees ethnicity, and ethnic identity, as dynamic variables in the same way that economic and

political relations are dynamic and group defining. He argues that Barth's boundary maintenance idea of ethnicity is restricting, as it does not account for social change. Cohen suggests that social change of the Hausa ethnic identity may come about if it is divided by emerging class structures which may undermine ethnic identification over class identification (1974:xxii). Cohen and other contemporary scholars (Boswell, 1974; Bruner, 1974; Dahya, 1974; and Schildkrout, 1974) challenge Barth's boundary-maintenance model by bringing into play processes of change, though, none deals with the continuity and change of identity through time. Rather, they are still interested in how identity plays itself out in a particular context.

Liebkind views identity as a process which is fueled by the two-fold aim of creating both distinctiveness as an individual and a sense of continuity and integration in society (1983:187). Identity is in constant movement and change because of the contextual balancing that is required of these two forces of individuality and group belonging. Liebkind's perspective differs from Goffman's mainly in its focus on process and change in addition to the importance both theorists place on interactional analysis and contextual specificity.

Giddens (1991) takes a processual identity perspective through his analysis of self identity and the quickly changing experiences in the modern world. Giddens also

takes an interactionalist and contextual approach, the frame-to-frame context being the local and global influences as they pass through an individual's life. Giddens accounts for the change in these contexts and aims to create a model which will both analyze the specific context under observation and also connect each context into a chain of identity formation and process. His main interest is in how a person's identity is transformed in time through the experience of modernity (1991:32). Olwig (1993) is similarly concerned with the process of identity formation over time within the context of both local and global forces. Unlike Giddens he offers a more specific analysis of one culture over the period of several centuries and investigates the history of a current Caribbean island ethnic identity. Olwig's conclusion does not discuss how the island identity persisted over the centuries but how it developed from a localized identity into an island identity with a global outward looking focus.

Barth (1985), Blu (1977), Cassanelli (1982), Davis (1985), Hallowell (1945), Langness and Frank (1981), Nyberg (1985), Roosens (1989), Vinogradov (1974), Wallace (1956), and White (1991) all look at how the past is used in the present in defining ethnic identity. Erikson (1975 and 1958) used identity analysis of historical personalities to elicit information about that historical period in addition to seeking a deeper understanding of the historical

personage under investigation. Also, a small group of scholars, Davis (1985), Genevitratne (1989), Keyes (1981), Moore (1976), Smith (1963), and VerEecke (1988) have turned their attention to the persistence of a particular ethnic identity, though, none have delimited the specific factors which through time have contributed to the persistence of the identity under study. VerEecke (1988) investigates the transformation of the Adamawa Fulbe identity in Nigeria, mostly influenced by the external forces of Islamicization, urbanization, and modernization (1988:337). The transformation of this identity is seen in its response to the above mentioned external forces, thus creating a more resilient and widened usage of the Adamawa Fulbe identity. The relevance of VerEecke's conclusions to the Andalusian identity is further explored in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

These studies like their predecessors have also used history more for background information in understanding the contemporary manifestations of an ethnic identity. Yet to be answered is what factors and processes need be present, or absent, toward the persistence of an ethnic identity over several generations: the issue taken up in this dissertation.

III. The Problem

From the above summary of anthropology's investigation of identity, the following questions are still not fully answered: How do individual and group identities change over time? What contributes to an identity's persistence or extinction? and, What are the long-term, multigenerational destinies of certain identities? Douglas (1983) observes that anthropologists have looked at identity as either a legal philosophy or as an administrative economic philosophy. Her critique in this context is two-fold. First, anthropologists must take the individual more seriously and see what are the mechanisms of the relationship between the individual and culture (1983:39). Second, identity must be understood through its continuity over time, rather than only through the synchronic studies of identity which make up the majority of the materials on identity. Since Douglas' statements, successive research has considered identity through both time and through including the cultural and social processes which intersect with the identity process. Nonetheless, the bulk of the processual and time-oriented studies on identity, as seen above, still focus primarily on the present and do not dig deeply enough into the past processes of a given identity. This study aims to contribute to the literature by answering the question of how an identity persists and what this continuity of the identity means to the society and culture

in which it is currently expressed.

In answering these questions, this dissertation makes the following theoretical contributions. First, by drawing on the insights of the five different approaches to identity in anthropology and combining them into a processual understanding of identity, this dissertation argues that there is a general pattern underlying the persistence of an identity. This could only be done by utilizing the synchronic identity analysts' ideas and methods and by linking them into different frames of time. Second, in drawing on acculturation and assimilation studies in anthropology I have also found that these studies do not address the circumstances of a group that has maintained its distinct identity and social organization while being culturally, religiously, and linguistically assimilated into the society as a whole. This is in part because the group considered in this dissertation is an elite group and whereas most acculturation and assimilation studies in anthropology have been concerned with dominated groups, not dominating groups. This dissertation offers a perspective of acculturation from a dominant group. Third, this dissertation also considers the relationship between the individual and culture. It is argued here that identity is to the individual what culture is to society. Moreover, there is considerable overlap between these four abstractions: the individual and society draw on both

identity and culture in formulating their realities. Throughout the chapters of this dissertation many examples are offered in how an individual draws on cultural information in formulating his identity and then in expressing that culturally informed identity in social circumstances. Lastly, beyond the theoretical contributions this dissertation makes two ethnographic contributions: the study of a group of people not studied before in anthropology nor, to the best of my knowledge, by any other social science; and the study of a group of elites, a group which as a social category has received less attention in anthropology compared to non-elite groups. Who the Andalusians are now follows.

Before going further, it is important to clarify what is meant by Andalusian. The term "Andalusian" has many meanings and has been used in a variety of contexts by scholars of Spanish and Moroccan history. Latham defines several of the possible meanings of "Andalusian" in the following passage: "In the present context I shall follow the old Arab custom of designating as 'Andalusian' (a) the inhabitants of Muslim Spain (Al-Andalus), (b) Muslims inhabiting reconquered territories under treaty with their Christian conquerors, (c) those Muslims who, having remained in Spain after the completion of the Reconquest in 1492, were later denied their religion, language, and culture and compelled to submit to baptism and practice of the Christian

faith--in other words, the Moriscos"¹. Moreover, outside of scholarship and in contemporary Moroccan usage, the term "Andalusian is also used as a general term by Moroccans in their daily usage when referring to any contemporary Moroccan, regardless of their specific exile history, who came from Spain between 400-700 years ago. For clarity, this dissertation focuses on those descendants of the Moriscos who settled in Rabat, Morocco, and who today reside in that city. Because of the way I have observed Moroccan social memory to collapse the past for its uses in the present, all the many definitions of who the Andalusians are can be relevant to a single person or context.

Two points concerning my usage of terminology need to be made here. First, when I use the term "Andalusian" I am referring to the contemporary Moroccan descendants of all people who claim their ancestry as being from Islamic Spain. This includes the Andalusians from the cities of Rabat, Tetouan, Fez, and smaller towns, such as Chefchaouen south of Tetouan. This is because, while this study was conducted among the Andalusians in Rabat, there are many aspects of their identity that they share with other Moroccan Andalusians from other cities. Only when there is a difference between the Rabati Andalusian identity and that of other Moroccan Andalusians do I specifically use the term

¹Page 189, in, "Towns and Cities of Barbary; The Andalusian Influence" (reprint, 1986:189-205).

"Rabati Andalusian". Second, the use of the term "identity" in this dissertation takes the position that identity is both personal and social at once and therefore the personal and social are not distinguished. It can be argued that a given identity is more social than personal, such as national identity, or more personal than social, such as a person's religious identity, but the two cannot be completely isolated from each other. A person's identity is shaped by his social experiences, interactions and expectations. A person knows who he is, what his identity is, by engaging his identity in a social context. If an identity has not been socially validated or invalidated then it has little significance to the individual.

Thus, using the Andalusians of Rabat as the focus of investigation, this dissertation aims to answer the question of how an identity persists from generation to generation. The Andalusians of Rabat offer insights into this problem of the persistence of identity because of the unbroken presence of their identity several centuries, both from when they lived in Spain and since the seventeenth century when they settled in Rabat. Moreover, the fact that the Andalusians of Rabat began their seventeenth century settlement in Morocco as Moriscos, those Iberian Muslims who after 1492 chose conversion over exile in order to remain in Spain, with the stigma of baptism and the marginal activity of piracy associated with them, and then became the cultural

elite of Rabat, speaks for the power of the influence of the Andalusian identity in Moroccan society. In exploring the persistence of the Andalusian identity in Rabat, this dissertation considers the following as primary reasons: centuries of historical continuity of the Andalusian people who migrated and/or were expelled to North Africa; intergenerational continuity as observed between elder and young Andalusians and in the marriages between Andalusian families; the complex contextuality and fluidity of the Andalusian identity; and the acknowledgement, engagement, and reference of the Andalusian identity by both the in-group (Andalusians) and the out-groups (non-Andalusians) in Moroccan society. The concluding chapter tests whether these four reasons validly answer the problem of how an identity persists by drawing upon comparative material from the anthropological literature.

IV. Methodology

Fieldwork was conducted in Rabat in March-April 1992 and from November 1992 to August 1993. Fieldwork focused on ethnographic and historical research on the Andalusian families of that city. Towards understanding the history of these families, from 1609-1993, and how the Andalusian identity in Rabat persists, I have drawn on the following:

(1) oral histories gathered through interviews with individual family members from twelve Andalusian families, which in a few cases led to participation in some aspects of their daily domestic lives; (2) historical written materials encompassing information on all the persistent Andalusian families still in Rabat²; (3) interviews concerning the

²On written documents: An Andalusian artisan I interviewed thought he had a book on his family and later said he did not. He said families like his and that of his neighbor, an Andalusian merchant, do not have written sources. Another Andalusian man, a secondary school headmaster, said the French took his family's documents in 1956; another Andalusian family with whom I spoke appears to have written sources of a scattered sort in the hands of various family members who are now passing them over to one family member who is writing a history of his family. Several scholars of Spanish and Moroccan history told me that the sources exist but not in the archives. Instead, these sources are still in the families' hands and very difficult to see. An historian of the Andalusian history of Morocco said that for all the decades he lived in Tetouan and Rabat, the Andalusian families would not trust him enough to let him see their papers. He told me that other than the coveted papers in family hands, the only other sources on these people are in Spain. Outside of this, the public records of these families, men of religion and politics, have been made widely available through several recently published histories of the city of Rabat.

One gentleman, an Andalusian and also an historian at the University of Mohammed V in Rabat, told me that many Rabati Andalusians were involved with the sea and indicated thereby that not all of the Andalusians were upper-class or educated. This was his reasoning for why there are few documents on the seventeenth and eighteenth century of Rabat: everyone was too busy with the war between the corsairs and Spain at sea to learn to read and write.

Andalusian families and the Andalusian heritage of Morocco, these interviews being with Moroccans who live in Rabat but are not themselves Andalusian; (4) popular literature in the form of newspaper and magazine articles, advertisements, secondary school history books, cookbooks, poetry books, and novels, which make reference to the Andalusian heritage in a contemporary setting; (5) materials discussing the persistent Spanish elements that are a part of Rabat's Arabic dialect; and (6) a study done among the artisans who continue to produce the diverse arts and crafts from the Andalusian tradition. This latter category includes music, poetry and calligraphy, architecture, woodwork, embroidery, and cuisine. Finally, an additional eight weeks were spent in Spain, during August 1990, December 1992, February 1993, and March 1995, in order to consult archives and to meet experts on the Moriscos, through whom I learned more about

the Spanish origins of the families and the names of the Andalusians of Rabat. During those trips to Spain I also met Moroccans living in Granada, Cordoba, and Seville who discussed the importance of the Andalusian heritage for themselves; half were from Andalusian families and half were not.

Eighty-six people were interviewed during the period of fieldwork in Morocco and Spain. A total of 124 interviews with these eighty-six people were conducted. Forty-six of these interviews were conducted with Moroccan Andalusians. Thirty of the interviews with Moroccan Andalusians were with Andalusians from Rabat; five were with Andalusians from Tetouan who are living in Rabat; three were with Andalusians in Tetouan; and two were with Andalusians from Fez, one of whom is a prominent government official in Rabat. Six of the Andalusian interviews were done with Moroccan Jews who trace ancestry goes back to Islamic Spain. Next, 49 of the 124 interviews were conducted with Moroccans who are not from the Andalusian background. Since identities are interactive, they need to be confirmed from both sides, the identity user and the person with whom he is interacting. The perspectives of non-Andalusian Moroccans on the Andalusian identity and heritage are as important as the perspectives of Andalusian Moroccans. It is significant that most of the Moroccan individuals that I met, from all social backgrounds, had an opinion about the Andalusians of

the country. This indicates that the Andalusian identity exerts a broad influence in Moroccan society. Finally, the remaining interviews were conducted with scholars and officials from Spain, Holland, and the United States who work among the urban elite of Rabat and are familiar with many of the Andalusian families of the capital city.

It is estimated that there are between 45-60 Andalusian families of Rabati origin. These estimates are based on name lists of Andalusian family names I collected during interviews, as well as lists compiled from written sources (Souissi, 1979; Razzuq, 1991; Busto, 1992; Bujandir, 1987 (1887): Dinia, 1986; Abd al-Allah, 1990). If the estimate of 45 families is correct, then I was able to interview representatives from 33% of the total families and I gathered information concerning 45% of the total families. If the estimate of 60 total Rabati Andalusian families still living in Rabat is correct, then I interviewed representatives from 25% of the total families and I gathered information on 33.3% of the total families. Exact numbers are not available because of the unavailability of both census information and information from the Rabati Andalusian families as to how many there exist of their own and other Rabati Andalusian families. Given that strong patterns of class, education, marriage choice, occupational status, cultural and learned statuses, ethnic and racial attitudes were emerging consistently within the number of

Andalusians that I did interview, I believe it is safe to consider the sample in this study a sufficient one to understand who the Andalusians of Rabat are, how their identity has persisted, and how this identity relates them to their society and culture. A general description of the breakdown of the groups interviewed follows in Table 1.

Table 1

Categories	Andalusians Interviewed (28)	Non-Andalusian Moroccans Interviewed(30)
<u>Professions:</u>		
Scholars	43% (12/28)	47% (14/30)
Diplomats	21% (5/28)	3% (1/30)
Government officials	21% (5/28)	7% (2/30)
Businessmen	43% (12/28)	20% (6/30)
Artisans and Merchants	11% (3/28)	3% (1/30)
Administrators	0%	3% (1/30)
Teachers	0%	10% (3/30)
Laborers	0%	7% (2/30)
Homemakers	0%	10% (3/30)
<u>Education:</u>		
Secondary school only	0%	23% (7/30)
Baccalaureate level	71% (20/28)	17% (5/30)
Beyond baccalaureate	14% (4/28)	47% (14/30)
Religious education	11% (3/28)	7% (2/30)
<u>Class Status:</u>		
Elite, upper class	71% (20/28)	23% (7/30)
Elite, middle class	21% (6/28)	0%
Middle class	21% (5/28)	47% (14/30)
Lower class	0%	33% (10/30)
<u>Economic Status:</u>		
Upper level wealth	64% (18/28)	23% (7/30)
Middle level wealth	46% (13/28)	57% (17/30)
Lower level wealth	3.5% (1/28)	23% (7/30)
<u>Political Status:</u>		
Explicitly pro-King	46% (13/28)	33% (10/30)
Istiglal Party	7% (2/28)	3% (1/30)
No comment	54% (15/28)	57% (17/30)
<u>Religious Sentiment:</u>		
Orthodox	39% (11/28)	23% (7/30)
Secular	54% (15/28)	47% (14/30)
Sufi	36% (10/28)	30% (9/30)
<u>Ethnic Self-Assessment:</u>		
Andalusian	96% (27/28)	0%
Arab	50% (14/28)	87% (26/30)
Berber	11% (3/28)	57% (17/30)
Jewish	18% (5/28)	0%
European	29% (8/28)	0%
Black African	0%	7% (2/30)
Turkish	0%	3% (1/30)

The purpose of using individual interviews, family interviews, participant-observation and the various multimedia, especially print media, in the research design was to investigate and discover from many sources the way the Andalusian identity is expressed in both the past and the present. Moreover, using historical documents enabled me to see if the same pattern of articulation in the present was similar and present in previous times. Patterns of identity usage did emerge through viewing the Andalusian identity in these various sources. The most prominent patterns were: the collapsing of the entire history of Islamic Spain into one family's history by way of establishing a more legitimate link to the history of al-Andalus; multiple references being made in the present to this collapsed past; the use of the Andalusian identity and heritage as an ideal of Moroccan civilization and the Andalusians as bastions of tarbiyyah (upbringing, education and learning) and ḥaḍārāh (civilization) by Andalusians as well as by many Moroccans; and the use of the Andalusian identity as a modernizing identity. That is, as a modernizing identity it is an identity that remains founded in an important past for Moroccans while modernizing itself. The Andalusian identity modernizes itself as an European identity and as an Arab identity, given the presence and pressures of the cultural hegemony of Europe, especially France, and the religious hegemony of the Arab Islamic

world.

V. The Setting: The City of Rabat

On the northwestern Atlantic coast of Morocco the Bouregreg river empties into the Atlantic after it passes through, and offers verdant life to the valley and surrounding farm land. The Bouregreg river also, as it nears its mouth, passes by the fourteenth century Merenid tombs contained in the area of the Chellah, a modern "hypermarche" called Marjane, suburbs, and ultimately, the city of Rabat, on its left bank. On the river's right bank, shortly before arriving at the Atlantic Ocean, the river passes by the suburbs of Salé, an expanding potters' guild, and the old city of Salé. The two cities of Rabat and Sale directly face each other across the river. Both Sale and Rabat have their own coastline. Beyond these similarities of geography, the two cities are often cast as total opposites. The historical details of this difference will become apparent in the succeeding chapters. The population of contemporary Salé is more local and not as international as Rabat. Salé is more inward-looking and defensive of its traditional life, while Rabat, also valuing its traditions, seeks a more integrative and modernized synthesis of the city's traditions. Salé is often a commuter's community for recent migrants who are working in Rabat. Rabat is

wealthier and more expensive to live in than Salé. Salé prides itself on being more authentic and traditional than Rabat, the latter city being viewed by many people from Salé as corrupted by modernity. The people of Rabat are often less aware of Salé because of Rabat's central role in the government of Morocco. Both cities have had moments of great recognition when the other city resided in the other's shadow. Today, it is Rabat which is in the center of attention.

The city of Rabat is the capitol of Morocco today. It is the main residence of the king and the location of the National Assembly. Rabat as a city was somewhat small and noncentral until the French took it as their Protectorate capitol, between 1912 and 1956. Before this, Rabat's zenith was as a short-lived dynastic center of the Almohads in the twelfth century. After the twelfth century Rabat lay in ruin until the Morisco refugees from Spain arrived in the early seventeenth century and rebuilt the city. It is significant to note, concerning the persistence of the Andalusian identity in Rabat, that this refugee community remained in considerable isolation up until the French occupation of their city. This means that from 1609 to 1912, the Andalusians of Rabat were the main inhabitants of their town and were the main cultural and political force within it. Their identity was strong and intact. Moreover, even to the present, the physical structure of the old

section of Rabat, the medina, which was first established in the seventeenth century, is still maintained. For example, from a study of the social history of the medina of Rabat between 1952 to 1978, a Moroccan scholar says of the medina's Andalusian style:

"L'empreinte morisco-espagnole se manifeste surtout sur la morphologie urbaine de la médina de Rabat par la disposition de son plan. Car cette dernière reste l'une des rares medinas Marocaines, si-non l'unique qui a été construite suivant un plan orthogonal qu'on ne retrouve pas avec une aussi grande netteté, dans d'autres médinas qui n'ont pas échappé à l'influence des Morisques comme celles de Salé, Fès, et Tétouan." (Chehani, 1981:19).

and

"La maison en médina...son style architectural, hérité de l'Andalousie, exprime les richesses de création d'une civilisation et reste dans l'ensemble artisanal." (ibid, 1981:35).

Thus, even the physical appearance of the old city has retained its Andalusian character over the last four centuries. Yet, perhaps even more fascinating is the fact that the Rabati Andalusians' identity has remained strong into the 1990's, after almost eighty years of external influence in Rabat plus a large rural-urban migration of Moroccans into the city. The French Protectorate capital of Rabat brought in French, Spanish, and also Portuguese, all whose diplomatic officials resided in the city. One

Andalusian man mentioned that the old Andalusian families of Rabat continued to reside in the old city, the medina, where they had lived for four centuries. Near the medina residences were developed to house the foreign officials. This same man told me that the Andalusians got along very well with the Spanish and Portuguese residents because they considered each other historic brothers because of the common history of Iberia during its Islamic civilization. Moreover, a great deal of Spanish Protectorate literature, published under Franco, described the sense of shared culture and attitudes not present between the French and the Moroccans (such as the periodical El Mundo Ilustrado). Movement from the medina quarters out into other parts of Rabat, areas developed mostly by the French, really did not occur until after independence in 1956. Suburban-like areas began being built during that time and many Andalusian families, wishing to stay together yet feeling squeezed out by the large number of newly arrived rural migrants who took up residence in the medina as well, moved out to the new suburban developments, such as Souissi and Hay Riad.

Rabat has been the subject of many different styles of histories. Janet Abu-Lughod wrote a social urban architectural study of the city which takes us up to the 1980's. Several Andalusians from Rabat have written histories of the city, with a slant toward the glories of Rabat's past and monarchic present (Abu-Lughod, 1982; Abd

al-Krim Krim, 1986; Bujandir, 1987 [1887]; and Dinia, 1986). Guillermo Gozalbes Busto, a specialist on the Moriscos in Morocco, wrote his dissertation on the independent Andalusian Republic of Rabat, covering much of the early history and important persistent elements of the city (1974). Rabat was also the focus of French Protectorate scholarship concerning general aspects of the city (Mercier, 1906a), the religious life of the city (Mercier, 1906b), the culinary tradition and its symbolic values (Jouin, 1957), and language (Brunot, 1930). These studies are an important source of information on the Andalusian inhabitants of Rabat. This is because the most accessible Moroccans in Rabat to the French occupants were the upper class Moroccans, the Andalusians being an important percentage of this class.

VI. Doing Fieldwork Among the Andalusians of Rabat

In order to understand the nature of this investigation and why some types of information were obtained and other types were not, it is important to explain how I initiated contact with the Andalusians of Rabat, how I was able to interact and participate with them, and what my status was with the Andalusians whom I met.

First, I initiated contact with various Andalusian

families from Rabat in different ways, all of which required a long process of explaining my research purposes and of being established as a legitimate scholar. Furthermore, who else I knew and was interacting with were crucial factors in being accepted. It is important to note that most of the Andalusians of Rabat are well-to-do and are well-known for one reason or another. Because they constitute an important element of the cultural elite of the city, and in some cases of the country, immediate access to them was impossible. This fact continued to pose difficulties in areas where I needed more interaction or knowledge about the Andalusians and was simply unable to obtain such privilege. My first contact with an Andalusian in Rabat was with a Tetouani Andalusian (though his Andalusian family history is different from the Rabati Andalusians, his societal prestige was still equivalent to that of Andalusians from Rabat), a contact that was obtained because of the assistance of the sister of one of my Moroccan colloquial Arabic instructors who lives in Rabat. She introduced me to this Tetouani Andalusian who was their family friend. It is a significant fact that the reason I gained this introduction was because of my association with a member of an important family in Morocco, in addition to the fact that the people involved were also generous with their time and hospitality. A possible key factor to continued contact with the man from Tetouan came from a surprising connection with my Iranian

family. This man, a former diplomat, knew two of my paternal cousins; cousins I knew little about until the moment the Andalusian man from Tetouan mentioned them. I later learned from my parents that one of my cousins had served as a diplomat in Morocco and the other in Washington D.C. It is very likely that the continued support of this Tetouani Andalusian, who later met with me and generously gave me the names of Rabati Andalusians that I could contact using his name as a reference, was founded on the fact that my family had a status and a name with which he was familiar. Where you come from and who you know is extremely important in Moroccan interactions.

Other introductions to Andalusians followed a similar course in knowing someone who knew someone who was Andalusian and was willing to do them the favor of talking with me. Beyond these helpful beginnings, the hard work was in maintaining continued contact with the people that I was meeting. I later learned that the inhabitants of Rabat, and especially the Rabati Andalusian families, are very exclusive and do not easily open their homes to people outside of their circles. Beyond the reported conservatism of the Rabati people, there is a broader issue of obligation in relationships in Moroccan society, which combined with the elite status of the Rabati Andalusians made it more difficult for me to have long-term interactions. Rosen, who most explicitly deals with the nuances of relationship in

Moroccan society, describes Moroccan obligations as such:

"For Moroccans, it may be argued, every relationship implies an obligation. To be related in a particular degree of kinship, to be another's neighbor, to be the client of a merchant in the bazaar carries with it certain expectations of potential recompense. Indeed, every act requires some form of reciprocation as an aspect of its very nature: every act creates an obligation or expresses a right asserted. To engage in any act that benefits another, or even causes him to alter his own acts as a result of such contact, carries with it the notion that a *haqq*, an obligation, has been formed and hence there is a need to reciprocate. The idea is so deeply rooted that Moroccans had to borrow the European word favor ("favor") to express the idea of an act for which no reciprocation is required or expected...No relationship can escape this central ingredient." (1984:64).

Given Rosen's illumination, it is little wonder that many people told me they had Andalusian friends but did not introduce me to them even when they said they would. By stating they had such friends (prestigious and influential) they were telling me about their own societal successes and yet, because these contacts were precious, they were not going to squander the fine balance of obligations and status negotiations on an unknown temporary participant (me) in their society. Moreover, for the Andalusians, who are in the public eye and do wield a good deal of influence, why should they in turn risk their obligations or reputations, again, on me, an unknown rootless person? Certainly my

status in Iranian society, as it was known by one Moroccan (and less was known of who I was in American society), and the potential that ties with a foreigner such as myself, went little distance for a group of people who knew more people of socioeconomic and sociopolitical consequence in Morocco and abroad.

Nevertheless, many Andalusians were happy to meet with me once or twice, a few even opened their homes to me for these meetings. Only two invited me to meals, and only during one of those meals was the whole family present. Thus, much of my information is based on individual accounts and my opportunities to participate in the daily lives of the Rabati Andalusians was severely curtailed by the intense privacy surrounding their lives. In contrast, I was welcomed as a participant into the homes of several non-Andalusian Moroccans from Mohammedia, Casablanca, Chefchaouen, and Fez. Consequently, the information about Andalusians gained through interviews and participant-observation is limited primarily to interviews with individuals and activities with individuals, rather than family and home-based participation and observations.

The exclusive attitudes and the preference to meet me one-on-one rather than in family gatherings, demonstrates the style with which the Andalusians interact with the non-Andalusian majority of their society. Most Andalusians do see themselves as a distinct population in Morocco, many

still marry only into Andalusian families, and many are very protective of their privacy because they are well-to-do, well-known, and have reputations to protect. This fact also explains my primary reason for why the names of the families are not used outside of the lists of names of Rabati Andalusians: in order to preserve the privacy and reputation of the families.

Second, how I was able to participate and interact with the Andalusians was primarily, as discussed above, with individuals outside their homes. This has a lot in common with general Spanish cultural practice. Most Moroccan encounters, in generalized terms, involve the acquaintance being invited to the Moroccan's home for a meal. There the person is introduced to the whole family and there the person gets to know the Moroccan acquaintance better. In general terms, in Spain, a person meets a new acquaintance in public places--parks, cafes, plazas--for a long time, sometimes it takes months and sometimes years, before a person is invited into a Spanish home. This is very similar to the Andalusians of Rabat, and I am told by several Moroccans that it is much the same case for Andalusians from Fez and Tetouan. Thus, I met most of the Andalusians with whom I had become acquainted at their place of work. One young Rabati Andalusian woman I met at the University of Mohammad V library, and that is where we always saw each other. A few times she indicated wanting to invite me to

her home but then dropped it once it became unspokenly clear to us both that her parents were not used to the idea of inviting a person of whom they knew little and who had no family in the city. Another Andalusian man I met at his wood shop, another at his office in a secondary school, several at their stores, and one at his government office.

Of the two families which did invite me into their homes, one family invited me for afternoon teas during which times I could ask questions about the family's history from the family's expert on that topic (everyone deferred to this man when I asked questions about the family history). During those afternoon teas, other family members, from all generations, would come in and out and disappear into domestic depths to which I never had access. All that can be said about this latter issue is that given the immense traffic, there must have been at least 20-25 family members living in that residence, from grandparents and aunts and uncles, to grandchildren and great grandchildren. The other family into whose home I was invited allowed me to witness more of their everyday activities and interactions and the whole home was open to me. In this family I was invited for lunch and the whole family gathered around. When I wanted to photograph some of the traditional Andalusian embroidery done by the mother of the household, I was asked to wear the garments and allow the son to take a picture of me displaying the embroidery. The father spent a long

afternoon instructing me on the basics and the nuances of Andalusian music originating from Granada, a tradition that his family has passed on for generations and in which he is training his son. This latter family was perhaps the most open to my ethnohistorical research and yet, they too only invited me a few times to their home. Much of the time I would see the father in his shop and he would tactfully imply that I had learned all that I could about his family's history. While he continued to be very interested in what I was learning about Rabati Andalusians, he could only see the merit of a historical study. Participant-observation and anthropology did not carry much value with him. This latter point leads into the third and final issue, that of my status with the Andalusians with whom I worked.

My status with Andalusians was both as a scholar and as a foreigner. Since higher learning and an international focus are attributes valued by Andalusians, both my identity as a scholar and a foreigner were facets from which discussions and interactions with Andalusians could be begun and continued. However, as with most identities and attributes, there were important nuances around being a scholar and a foreigner. Interestingly, my being a woman was never an issue--it neither closed nor opened doors for me--and if my gender influenced the interactions in any way, it was not overt enough to be noticed. As a well-educated woman I gained respect and was treated as a well-educated

person. Without exception, the Andalusians with whom I spoke treated me as an academic authority and engaged an academic dialogue from the beginning.

As mentioned earlier, of particular interest to the people with whom I spoke was my investigations into their history. History is indeed one of the respected social sciences and seems to carry more weight than sociology or anthropology (especially anthropology which is still associated with the French Protectorate). Because most of the Andalusians with whom I spoke had university educations, my standing as a scholar gave us a common grounds of identification.

However, my status as a foreigner, while never a completely negative label, was far less stable than my status as a scholar. Added complications to my foreign-ness came from the Rabati Andalusians' perceptions of my bicultural background. I would be introduced to the Andalusians, as well as other Moroccans, as an American Fulbright scholar. However, when my name was given, it created a curiosity as to what sort of American I was. When the fact was established that my name was Iranian, the Middle Eastern connection made people either more or less willing to talk to me. For people who gravitated toward secular and European styles of living, they either chose to emphasize my American identity over the Iranian one, or, they felt we no longer had very much to talk about. For

people who gravitated toward traditional Moroccan and Islamic modes of expression, they either chose to completely include me as a fellow Muslim and emphasize my Iranian identity, or to distance themselves from the possible religious friction that they feared would arise between an Iranian and a Moroccan (either perceived as sunni-shiite factional difference, or as the implications of the Iranian Islamic revolution in a country with a sacred monarch), chose to emphasize my American identity. Whatever side of these identities became the focus for my acquaintances, the important matter is that my status as a scholar and as a foreigner were the two issues repeatedly negotiated in new interactions with the people with whom I worked.

A final note about my status concerns language usage, a significant issue in a multilingual context such as Morocco. Whether Andalusian or not, the language of culture and distinction among the Moroccan elite families is still French rather than Arabic. Only in the case of religious scholars who come from the elite families is classical Arabic a language of learning and distinction. Many upper class Moroccans whom I met were more comfortable in speaking French with me than Moroccan colloquial Arabic and since my spoken Arabic is stronger than my spoken French, I would often shift into speaking either pure classical Arabic or a middle range Arabic of classical and colloquial. Sometimes the mix of colloquial and classical Arabic was established

in order to find a common ground. Other times, depending on the agenda of the person with whom I was speaking, my usage of classical Arabic became important to establish myself as an educated person in the presence of someone who was used to French being the language of education and influence. For further clarity, while I am fluent in Spanish, this language is no longer spoken among Andalusians in Rabat; French has long replaced Spanish as a language of identification with Europe. However, related to this issue is the phenomenon I observed among a few Andalusians who would imply in their speaking and in their behavior that because of their Spanish heritage they were more European in general and thus better disposed to understanding French culture and partaking of it. This is simply a convenience since French culture, not Spanish, is the prestigious European culture in Morocco today, even though the Spanish also had a protectorate in Morocco at the same time that the French did.

Chapter 2 The Andalusian Identity as an Ethnic Identity

I. Background: Studies of Ethnic Identity in the Middle East

In 1951 Coon wrote that the Middle East, from Morocco to Afghanistan, was an ethnic mosaic. His metaphor suggests that each piece in the mosaic's design is both essential to the design as well as distinct and separate in itself. Coon's image of the Middle East, as an ethnic mosaic whose design is composed of the ethnic division of labor, has been widely used and accepted in scholarship on the Middle East. Geertz (1979:141), Antoun (1976:178), E. Cohen (1977:315), and Hart (1984:123) all refer to the mosaic pattern as a valid way to view diversity in the Middle East. Eickelman (1981:159) challenges the simplicity of structuring a region that stretches from the westernmost part of North Africa to Central Asia on the sole principal of an ethnic division of labor. Eickelman's objection is that ethnic identities are multi-faceted and dynamic. As support for this criticism, Eickelman cites Amal Rassam Vinogradov's research in Iraq (1981:160). Rassam concluded that the social and cultural identity of the people he studied, the Shabak, is defined by religious belief and practice, not by occupation, nor by a common history, as the Shabak are mostly unaware of their history and genealogy (Vinogradov, 1974:208). Another

scholar, Rabinow (1977), also observed no ethnic divisions along occupational criteria, in the city of Sefrou, Morocco. Rabinow's observation is consistent with other scholar's observations that Morocco's social organization is fluid and flexible. For instance, Brown found no correlation between ethnicity and occupation in the city of Sale (1976:154). Similarly, Rosen's research on identity in Morocco challenges the idea that group identities are fixed and clearly bounded. In Rosen's words, "...social groups are less corporeal and durable than current ethnography and theory suggest" (1984:1). Rosen observed that an individual utilizes words and identities at the moment of contact with another person. Neither word nor identity carry fixed meanings before, or after, the people meet. Rather, the point of contact with another person begins a negotiation process through which meaning is derived as personal ties and expectations are juggled within the setting and circumstances of the meeting. Barth's Sohar (1983) also moves away from Coon's characterization of the Middle East. His ethnography, conducted in Oman, set as its goal the understanding of pluralism and sociocultural differentiation in a Middle Eastern context. Not only does Barth's ethnography render Coon's description simplistic, but it also challenges the notion of ethnic identity. In Sohar, an ethnic group, meaning the kinship and descent group of a person, is but one of a number of group identities that

make up the social differentiation of the Omani town. Barth's final analysis, as he offers an analysis of the organization of diversity, deems it necessary to remove the categories of descent and ethnic group from the center of the determining factors, and requires that researchers look at diversity in a less bounded way. That is, as Barth concludes, that to understand diversity in the Middle East, analysis of 'groups' will restrict us from going beyond classifications and inert images. Barth sees the individual as the key. Through the individual the dynamic play between identities and cultural patterns can be accurately seen and understood (1983:246-47). Barth's suggestions have proven useful in understanding work done in Morocco as well as the Andalusian material.

The Andalusian identity is an ethnic identity in that Andalusians and other Moroccans define the identity as an ascribed identity which is reinforced by the practice of endogamous marriages. Origin and descent are the main categories used to define the Andalusian identity. The Andalusian ethnic identity encompasses many other identities, such as diverse occupational, religious, artistic, national, and transnational identities. Thus, ethnicity in the Andalusian case is not only flexible but also includes many other identities in addition to occupational identities, which Coon held to define ethnicity in the Middle East.

II. Ethnic Identity in Morocco

Gellner (1972:11-21) has described the Maghrib as the most homogeneous part of the Middle East, in terms of ethnicity, religion and languages spoken. He states that: "The Middle East proper reflects its own complex religious history, and the survival and intrusion of very numerous ethnic groups, by constituting a religious and linguistic patchwork...in the East, diversity faces diversity, and in the West, homogeneity faces homogeneity. (1972:11)."

Gellner's statement on social diversity is too simplistic to be of use in understanding social diversity in Morocco, where there is a great deal of diversity.

General ethnic categories in Morocco, those mostly discussed in anthropological works on Morocco, are: Arab, Berber, European, Black African, Muslim, Jewish, and Christian. To simply stop here and say that the preceding categories define and delimit ethnicity and diversity in Morocco would be fallacious. Moroccans are aware of more details than one being an Arab, a Berber, a Muslim, or a Jew. A Moroccan will include the place and people of origin, the locale that one grew up in, a person's social experiences, and perhaps also one's economic standing and education as also defining a person's ethnic identity. For example, a middle class Moroccan man told me that Moroccans hold an ethnically stratified picture of their society that

looks something like the following, the most prestigious and influential category being at the top of the list and the least prestigious at the bottom:

	Alawi <u>Shurufat</u> and Idrissi
	<u>Shurufat</u>
	Other <u>Shurufat</u> families
	Fassis (Andalusian and Qairawani)
Some Jewish families	All Andalusians
Some Jewish families	Average Moroccans of Arab descent
Some Jewish families	Berbers
	Sud/Sudah (Black Moroccans)

The Shurufat, the most powerful today being the King's family, the Alawis, are families claiming descent from the family of the prophet Muhammad. This descent, in the case of the Alawis, is not described in any exact ethnic detail other than the most important feature: being related to the Prophet and by inference, being Arab. However, King Hassan II has taken care not to speak of himself as belonging to any ethnic category. His standing is outside of that type of depiction. There are rumors that his mother was an east African woman, either Sudanese or Egyptian as the word-of-mouth accounts describe. Hassan II's public speeches and published addresses and interviews emphasize the diversity of the Moroccan people, society and culture. For instance, he says in his memoirs, Memoire d'un Roi, that, "...we belong to Africa and at the same time we are given to breath European air, in Spain. Among our places during the Fatimids was a line to Cairo. So, this country is not a

shrivelled up mineral under itself but rather it resembles a tree whose roots are embedded in the land of Africa and whose branches are leaves stretching up to Europe" (1993:66). Moroccans informed me that the King has emphasized that all Moroccans value the diversity of their society and their fellow Moroccans, whatever their background. I was told by a friend that the King had publicly stated that anyone caught treating a black Moroccan unjustly would be punished. This should not detract from the fact that the most powerful people in the country, are not black Moroccans. The most powerful people in Morocco, after the Alawis, are the other Shurufat families, especially the Idrissi, the Fassis, and the Andalusians. The Shurufat have their origins in the Arabian Peninsula and claim an Arab ethnic identity; some people might claim this to the point of denying any possible Berber influences in their background.

Fassis are the most talked about people with power in Morocco (Cigar, 1978; and Waterbury, 1972). Fassis appear to serve as the ultimate paradigm of what people in power are like and this in turn demonstrates the far reaches of their influence. Fassis are considered to be either Andalusian or Qairawani (Tunisia) in origin and in ethnic identity. Both groups of Fassis settled in Fez during the 9th (Parker, 1981:120). Both groups, in the past and in the present, are referred to historically as possessors of

learning, civilization, and classical Arab culture. Many Fassis hold high positions in the government, both domestic and international.

Andalusians, from all Moroccan cities, also hold high positions in the government and like the Fassis are considered by many Moroccans to be running the country. Few Andalusians, if any, claim descent to the Prophet. The focus of origin for Andalusians is Iberia and by extension, Europe. Muslim Andalusians are successful in using their Spanish ancestry in the present as a means to redefine themselves as more French than other Moroccans, via their claims to European ancestry. As a group Andalusians are strongly unified through the value they themselves place on being Andalusian as well as through the popular notions among non-Andalusian Moroccans of both their inclusiveness as well as their valued standing as blood descendants of the Spanish Muslims, seeking refuge from Iberian problems throughout the ninth to seventeenth centuries.

Concerning the Jews, some, primarily from Andalusian ancestry, also hold significant positions in the government. The opinion of the Andalusians and non-Andalusian Moroccans with whom I spoke was that there are several Andalusian Jews who are in the innermost advisory circle of the King. One Muslim Andalusian man said that the reason the King has so many Jews around him is because of their strong international business ties and their

connections to Europe. The Jews, like most Moroccans, are constantly negotiating their roles in Moroccan society and culture. One view of Moroccan Jews is that they are more European, more French especially, than other Moroccans and therefore make natural intermediaries between Moroccan and European society. This position is taken by Jews who claim either a Spanish Andalusian ancestry or a Moroccan Jewish Berber ancestry. Another common perspective on the Jews is the idea that, because of their religious isolation, and thus the practice of endogamy, the Moroccan Jews are more Berber than other Moroccans and also preserve the purer forms of Berber culture. This notion may be directly linked to the French colonial attitudes. One Jewish man, who claims both an Andalusian and a Berber background, showed me photographs of his mother that had been turned into black and white tourist-style postcards by the French. The captions accompanying these postcards were, "Femme Berber Juif Typique" and "Femme Berber Typique". Nevertheless, beyond the Jews in high government positions, who appear to come from Andalusian backgrounds, the standing of the Jews of Morocco appears to be fluid.

Arabs, as a general group who are not Shurufat, Fassi, or Andalusian, are the next group in the social ethnic hierarchy. Much French colonial ethnography was devoted to describing Moroccan Arabs in contrastive categories to Moroccan Berbers. These descriptions led to different

French protectorate policies in the treatment of Moroccan Arabs and Berbers. The best known example of this is the Berber Decree of 1930 where the French put into practice the idea that all Berber jurisdiction would fall exclusively under Berber Customary tribal law and that all Arab legal affairs under Shari'a, Islamic law. This decree separated the Berbers, who also used Islamic law, from the Arabs. This colonial policy has been criticized as a policy which artificially divided the Arabs and Berbers. The common opinion, among the Moroccans from various educational backgrounds with whom I spoke, was that it is not possible to distinguish so completely between Arabs and Berbers. Some families have an indistinguishable mix of both ethnic groups, many have adopted the social and cultural practices of the other to a point that they say it is hard to tell which is which. In contrast, when the subject of being Arab and/or Berber comes up spontaneously, that is, without my asking it, it is in the context of making a distinction between the two. In Goffman's words, the non-spontaneous answer, the rehearsed and thought out one, is an "impression given", and the spontaneous discussion about what is Arab and what is Berber is an "impression given off". The latter is not rehearsed or thought out and it often reflects the true perspective of the person in the discussion. Among the attitudes found in impressions given off, the strongest is that being Arab is more prestigious than being Berber. For

example, I met a woman who held firmly to her family's origins as Arab, perhaps at some time they were once Shurfah, even when the evidence of her family's Berber origins was discovered, by a well-meaning friend. Even in Islamic Spain attitudes of ethnic separation between Berbers and Arabs infiltrated any political, military, and social history of the Medieval Iberian Peninsula. It is even possible that the separatist ethnic attitude originated in the Iberian experience as ethnic divisions were more pronounced in Islamic Spain than they were in the Maghrib of the same period (Shatzmiller, 1988:230).

An article in Le Matin commemorating the sixty-third anniversary of the French Berber Decree (of 1930) gives an eye-opening view of the many sides to this issue of Arab and Berber ethnicity. For example, one part of the article states that, "la première et meilleure illustration bénéfique de cette symbiose [of Arabs and Berbers in Morocco] c'est que l'armée qui débarque à Gibraltar en l'an 92 de l'Hégire pour aller répandre l'Islam en Espagne et en Europe était composée essentiellement de Marocains berbères et commandée par Tariq Ibnou Zaid, d'origine berbère qui furent tous des missionnaires islamiques" (16 May 1993). The intent of this statement was to say that Arabs and Berbers have existed in a state of symbiosis from the beginning of Arab expansion into the Maghrib. This statement is also implying that, if it had not been for the Berber armies and

Ibn Tariq, Islam would never have made its way into Spain.

This subtle division between the two groups is also apparent in common slang usages which reflect the perceived social and cultural inequality of the Berbers. Many times in the streets, among gatherings of family and friends I heard one person calling another person 'arubi. This word came up in contexts where the recipient of the label was doing or saying something that their friend jokingly thought rough-edged or backward. I later learned from a friend who was willing to define all the fine nuances of the word to me that it means a backward, unrefined person and that it means a peasant, especially a Berber peasant. Tessler notes that the Berber influence is not present within the inner circle of Moroccan elites who explicitly claim an Arab ancestry which is associated with the classical culture of the cities (1982:41). This explains why the word for peasant is also used to refer to the Berbers who are stereotypically associated with rural areas. In conclusion, while the French may have artificially divided Arabs and Berbers during the Protectorate, there were divisions present between the ethnic groups as can be seen in the attitudes Moroccans express about these two ethnic categories. If there were no division, there would be nothing to talk about.

Finally, concerning Black Moroccans, the term "black" is used because this is the word, sūd/sūdah, that Moroccans

use to refer to people with darker skin. If there are any taboos in Moroccan society around talking about ethnic differences they lie around the status of Black Moroccans. This may in part have to do with the history of slavery in Morocco. Some Black Moroccans, whose origins come from sub-Saharan Africa, may come from a heritage of slavery. One man from this background told me that the only racism in Morocco is class division and the inability to move up the ladder if one is born poor, whatever one's skin color. His assertion appears accurate from observing how common it is to see people of all skin colors with each other in the streets, as business partners or as friends. However, looking beyond the surface, one finds that marriage between dark and lighter skinned Moroccans is less common. Moreover, in talking to a few Black Moroccans, I found that they refer to themselves, and are referred to by others, as sūd/sūdah, thus making a minority categorization apparent. Unlike the Berber case, where the categorization is expressed in cultural and educational terms, the minority categorization among Black Moroccans is based on skin color. This is not always explicit. In Goffman's terms (1959), the "impression given" by a Black Moroccan is that all people are equal in Morocco. The impression given by a non-Black Moroccan also reinforces this same idea. In contrast, the "impression given off" by the Black Moroccans with whom I spoke is that they find comfort, equality, and understanding only with

other Black Moroccans and Africans, that they are at the bottom of the social hierarchy because of the ancestral slave status, and that they do not have access to power and the upper class of Morocco in the way that an Andalusian does. This contrast is significant: Andalusians are described by themselves and by others as being physically distinct: whiter of skin, with blue or green eyes and lighter hair color. Andalusians are also claiming a European descent, thus reflecting a general bias towards a European cultural hegemony. These issues of ethnicity and stratification will now be considered more specifically in Rabat.

III. The Andalusians and Social Diversity in Rabat

In the city of Rabat today there is a great deal of ethnic diversity. Rabat's was similarly diverse during the earlier part of this century and there is evidence that Rabat has possessed an ethnic diversity for several centuries. For example, Brunot writes:

"It is interesting to say that, in a city whose native population does not exceed 20,000, there is a visible social and ethnic division corresponding to a dialectical division and a division of the population into neighborhoods. Such is the case, even in spite of the incessant influx of the indigenous population since the Protectorate, that [this diversity] exists much as it must have existed before our [the French] arrival

and perhaps for several centuries." (Brunot, 1930:7).

While Rabat is originally an Andalusian city, shortly after its settlement by Moriscos from Spain, the city became an international hub, mostly for pirate activity. After Rabat's brief beginnings as an independent pirate republic, people from other cities and regions in Morocco migrated to the city. There are many non-Andalusian as well as Fassi Andalusian, families that arrived in Rabat in the mid-to-late seventeenth century. These families, along with the Andalusian families from Rabat, are taken together as the original families of the city (Souissi, 1979:201-204). Louis Brunot's research on the ethnic diversity of Rabat in 1930 reveals that locals referred to these two groups of founding families in the city as the "Andalusians" and the "Hnifiin" (Brunot, 1930:7-13). The term hnifiin in Moroccan colloquial is the term hanifiin in standard Arabic. Both are the plural form and mean, true believers, or, those who 'scorn the false creeds around them and profess the true religion' (Wehr, 1976:210). By using the term hnifiin to refer to the families of Rabat, that are not Andalusian, is referring to the urban, Arab, and traditional Islamic origins of these families. According to Brunot, the hnifiin "...claim that they came from Arabia, called by Mulay Idriss II, who founded Fez, [and that] their ancestors have resided in Fez and from there, the Arabs, becoming urbanized,

emigrated to the other cities of Morocco. This is not the only opinion [about the hnifiin origins]. Suffice it that this [idea] is deeply anchored in the mind of the population for whom it holds true in their society" (ibid, 1930:7).

As for the Andalusians of Rabat, Brunot's description again serves to express ideas prevalent in the contemporary city; ideas currently held by Andalusians, non-Andalusian Moroccans, and foreigners alike. Many people with whom I discussed the Andalusians of Rabat began their discussion by referring to the racial or ethnic distinction of the Andalusians. Andalusians are considered both more white of skin and more European looking. This is a sentiment Brunot also records some sixty four years ago. After the physical description, again parallel to Brunot (1930:7), people remark that Andalusians are "proper" and very urbanized or civilized. Brunot also mentions that "their houses are very attractive in the interior and the exterior [and] their women are very capable in embroidery." (1930:7). Following close behind both the physical descriptions and the attributes of Andalusians, the people I spoke with frequently mention the very Spanish sounding names of Andalusians in order to give a concrete reason for the Andalusians' European looks and urbanized behavior. Finally, Brunot accurately represents the divided opinion Moroccans, who are not from the Andalusian heritage, hold of the Andalusians. On the one hand, there are Moroccans who

"...do not question their [the Andalusians'] degree of civilization, saying that this comes from their superior ancestry..." and on the other hand there are those Moroccans who, being "...aware of their Spanish names, see Andalusians as strangers and consequently as Muslims of inferior quality" (1930:7).

The Rabati Andalusians and the Hnifiin, collectively seen as the founded families of Rabat, mix a great deal with each other and form the urban elite of the city. Moreover, many of these families also carry influence beyond the city. Beyond the Andalusians and the Hnifiin in Rabat, there are other Moroccans and foreigners who have immigrated to the city, either in search of employment or to fill the many positions necessary to run the bureaucracy of the administrative capital of the country. From this broad range of immigrants one finds people from all over Morocco, north and south, and people from all around the world: Europeans, Africans, East Asians, and North and Latin Americans. Many non-Rabati residents of the city, whether Moroccan or not, have commented that it is very difficult to become acquainted with the Hnifiin or with the Andalusians, and that these two groups keep to themselves and only circulate among themselves. This social exclusion is explained as a class division and yet the qualities of the class division are explained through reference to ethnic categories of difference in group membership and group

privilege. These class issues are discussed in chapter 7.

The division between the Rabati urban elite and the rest of the population is a good example of Shils' discussion of ethnic groups which occupy the center of the culture and those groups which are on the periphery (Shils, 1961:30-47). Unlike Shils' idea of center and periphery as defining the relationships of various ethnic groups in one society, in other cities in Morocco the center group may be Berber or Arab and not Andalusian. This fact makes the nature of the ethnic Andalusian group in Rabat one that is more apparent in Rabat and less significant outside the city. This fact does not take away the power that the Andalusian identity has over the imagination of Moroccans everywhere, though. Nor does it overlook the fact that to be a central group in the capital city carries a great deal of power and influence.

Today there are around 45-60 Andalusian families in Rabat whose Moroccan origins are traced to the city's settlement by Moriscos. There are several other families that are Andalusian as well but whose origins in Morocco go back to the cities of Tetouan and Fez. It is not a coincidence that all these Andalusian families make up a good portion of the urban elite of the city, and the country. It is so commonly held that Andalusians are running the country under the King's guidance, that even urban elites that are not Andalusian are commonly believed

to be Andalusian because of their prominence. Two such families, the Bennani family and the Tijani family were frequently called Andalusians by non-Andalusian Moroccans. They are not. Their fame and fortune stem from other important Moroccan histories. Also, Fassis, families originally from Fez, are widely held to be from either Islamic Spain or from the ninth century wave of immigrants from Tunisia, the Qairawanis. Many Fassis in Rabat, serving the King, are famed for being Andalusian. This identity carries with it the attributes of being very learned, wealthy, and civilized. The same status holds true for Rabati and Tetouani Andalusian families. The Tetouani families come from a city that also connects itself intensely to Islamic Spain, a fact which is reinforced by the Spanish protectorates use of the city for their colonial capitol.

Beyond the urban elite of Morocco, many of whom are either Andalusians, other historically important families, or successful business families, the city of Rabat is also composed of the middle and lower classes of Moroccans. Some Andalusians, especially those who sought not to be in politics but rather pursue their heritage of arts and crafts, such as music or woodwork, are a part of the city's upper middle class. The prominent members of the middle class are educated people from all over Morocco who came to live in the capitol and work either for the government,

business, education, or other service-oriented occupations. The Moroccan lower class is often composed of migrants from the country-side who left farming and animal husbandry for what is now considered a more lucrative and rewarding life in the cities of Morocco. Many of these people work for the wealthier Moroccans, in their homes and businesses, or as laborers.

Some Moroccans living in Rabat, who are not from Rabat and who are not a part of the elite circles, have described the city as unusual for a Moroccan city. Its unusual features are described as an unwelcoming social atmosphere for the newcomer from other parts of the country. One Moroccan man said that he has been in Rabat for over six years and he still has not been invited into a Rabati's home. In contrast, this individual, a native of Casablanca, a far larger and more crowded and industrialized city, compares Rabat's closed attitude to the welcoming nature of the inhabitants of Casablanca. Rabat is experienced by other non-Rabati Moroccans in this way also. Perhaps this is the case because Rabat is still a small-sized city compared to places like Casablanca: it is impossible to be lost in a crowd in Rabat. Nonetheless, given the smaller size of the capital city, many people come and go from Rabat because it is the administrative center. Coupled with a relatively small size, the frequency of immigrants to the city, and Rabat's long history of considerable isolation, a

history which will be discussed at length in the following chapter, an inward-looking unwelcoming attitude can be better understood as a way the inhabitants of the city have dealt with rapid change and the concern that their city may be transformed by the rapid changes. Brown observed a similar situation in the city of Sale, across the river from Rabat (1976:86-87 and 126) . Also, because Rabat is an expensive city to live in and this has resulted in a larger proportion of middle and upper class Moroccans residing in the city, while others choose to live across the river in Salé, which is far less expensive, and commute to their jobs in Rabat.

In addition to the high cost of living in Rabat, there is also a general feeling of high culture and sophistication that comes from being in Rabat. Part of this feeling is because of its Andalusian and urban elite presence. This in turn comes from the elites' service to the King, who resides most of the time in Rabat. Another part of this feeling is that Rabat is the political and cultural center of the country. Because Rabat is the nation's capitol, the principle seat of the King, and the administrative center of the nation, Moroccans from all regions have migrated to the city because of recent employment or, as is most often the case, hoping to find employment. Many young educated men arrive in the city and occupy bureaucratic administrative roles. The higher offices of government are mostly filled

by the elites of the main Moroccan cities, the most famous being the Fassis, those elites of either Andalusian or Qairawani background from the city of Fez.

The economic center of Morocco is Casablanca and this fact has kept a large population of rural immigrants out of Rabat and in Casablanca. Nevertheless, suburbs are rapidly developing and expanding into what was once an open fertile agricultural valley around Rabat.

By looking at the changes in the medina, Rabat's oldest residential quarters, one can better understand the trends of change in the city. The oral account of three Berber merchants who came to Rabat after the 1960's and currently reside in the medina both gives an understanding of the social changes that came to Rabat after Independence as well as the feeling the newer residents have toward the original families of the city. These three merchants told me the following story:

"Right after Independence, a lot of people from all over Morocco, rural people especially, began to migrate to Rabat, then the new capital of Moroccan Morocco. They were coming in so many groups from so many different places in the country that it was changing the nature of the social character of the city. This disturbed the Rabati Andalusian families greatly. They were annoyed with how these less cultivated people were coming in and changing the civilized character of the city that was their city and that was settled and built up by their ancestors from Andalucia. So, they went to the King [Hassan II] and asked him to do something about this new influence in their

city, which they found so upsetting. The King told them to come back to him within the week and he would think about their problem and give them an answer. When the Andalusians returned the King told them, 'khud shantatukum wa sir min a-madina khruj' (Take your suitcases and leave the medina!'). This was the Kings way of maintaining a balance: he did not tell the newcomers to leave but rather, encouraged the old Rabati Andalusian families to move to the more abundant farmland surrounding the city, the areas which today make up the suburbs of Rabat, such as Souissi and Hay Riad."

Indeed, there are many Andalusian families living in the greater spaces of Souissi in homes that are among the most luxurious of the city and that are a blend of Moroccan and European building styles. The merchants went on to say that,

"The King, he knows how to strike a balance and satisfies everybody. So, here we are. Today's people in the medina are mostly from the south, many are Berbers. The Andalusians called us biruda ("peasant" or "ruffian") when we came...A few Andalusians still live in the medina (they are mostly merchants or craftsmen like us). Very few. Most left and went away from the crowd. It is a recent phenomenon. They went to the suburbs. But, yes, this is an Andalusian town, still."

When I asked the same merchants why they believe the Andalusians have maintained their identity and group status for so long, they answered that the Andalusians are rich and also, they are something of an exclusive cultural club because of the importance of the Andalusian heritage in

Morocco; 'they like themselves and they see themselves as different'.

This story from the three medina merchants helps to explain the more recent layout of the city. Before the French arrived in the early twentieth century, to make Rabat their protectorate capital after attempts to establish it in Fez failed, most Rabatis resided within the quarters of the old medina, near the river and the Qasbah of the Oudayas. The French built new quarters and administrative buildings outside of the walls of the medina, including areas that had been farm land in previous times. After independence in 1956 and the resultant influx of both rural-to-urban and urban-to urban migrations to Rabat, as described by the merchants above, many of the original families from Rabat moved out into newly developing suburbs, also on land that had previously been for farming. One can still see the farmland on the edges of these suburbs, such as Souissi or Hay Riad, and the walls of the Merenid tombs in the Chellah. Consequently, today the city of Rabat can be described as the old medina on the northeast side and the Palace grounds almost centrally located, which are both surrounded by French Protectorate period constructions, which in turn are surrounded by modern suburbs. For a city of an estimated population of one million, small compared to other cities, it is more spread out and far less congested than other Moroccan urban centers. One could also surmise that, given

this spread-out nature of the city, people from similar background and classes can stick together and people from different backgrounds and classes see little of each other, with the exception of the people from middle and lower classes who frequent the medina for market purchases.

Lastly, the presence of a large international community in Rabat cannot be overlooked for this aspect also influences the experiences of the city as a whole and has in past times also. People from all around the world live in Rabat, primarily because all the embassies are in Rabat. Also, given the high quality of life that a foreigner with moderate means can achieve, there is a substantial expatriate population in the city. Many expatriates have been drawn to Rabat because of its international flavor (it is easier to blend into the crowd as a foreigner in Rabat than in any other Moroccan city, with the possible exception of Casablanca), its ideal location geographically, and the general quality of life, while still being very Moroccan, a point which appeals greatly to the romanticism of many foreigners who are drawn to Morocco in the first place.

IV. Conclusion

While ethnic identity is seen as more fluid and less bounded than believed by Coon (1951) and later Barth (1969), Rosen's more fluid model of ethnic identity in Morocco still

does not address the paradox that fluidity and negotiability exist simultaneously within a clear ethnic hierarchy. While many Moroccans with whom I spoke say that Morocco is class-based, and not ethnically divided, the class divisions are nevertheless most clearly defined along the lines of ethnic group membership. As will be explored in greater depth in chapter 7, ethnic stratification does exist, where those of Arab descent are at the top and those of Berber and sub-Saharan ancestry are at the bottom. These ethnic categories are associated, respectively, with the attributes of an urban classical culture versus a rural "unrefined" culture. Moreover, with the continuing importance of Europe in world economies, and the current prevalence of European culture in post-colonial Moroccan society, those ethnic identities which can associate themselves most closely to European culture are also among the most prestigious (see Tessler, 1982:42 and 71-76). In adding this perspective to the high value Moroccans place on their Arab heritage, the identity in Moroccan society best equipped to benefit from the esteem of the European and Arab heritages is the Andalusian identity. Thus, the high status and opportunity offered a person who can engage European culture, especially French culture, is easily available to the Andalusian who is well-situated within the ethnic hierarchy in Morocco.

Chapter 3 The Macro-Historical Continuity of the Andalusian Identity in Rabat: The Pre-Expulsion History

I. Introduction

The persistence of the Andalusian identity owes much to the both the general history of Islamic Spain and to the specific history of exile and resettlement of the Andalusians throughout Morocco in addition to the history of the Andalusians that settled in Rabat. This is true both because of the broad imagined world from which an Andalusian can draw to define their identity and also to the actual circumstances that shaped the psyche of a bearer of the Andalusian ancestry. Moreover, certain events and circumstances in Rabat's past contribute to the continuity of the Andalusian community and identity. It is clear from the chronicles kept by a historian in Sale that the Andalusians who settled in and rebuilt Rabat were perceived as a minority group whose origins, culture and religion were considered different from the long-time inhabitants of Sale across the river¹. Racially and culturally they were thought of as Spanish, and religiously they were suspect as to whether they were indeed devout Muslims or covert Christians. This initial reaction to the Andalusians of Rabat as Christians, rather than as brethren from Muslim

¹See Razzuq, 1989:302-303.

Spain, guaranteed immediate isolation of the Andalusian community from their Moroccan coregionalists.

The subsequent activities of the Rabati Andalusian community guaranteed the continuation of that initial isolation: they established an independent republic whose main source of income came from pirate activity in the Atlantic. This republic held its autonomy for fifty years. The Rabati Andalusians did make efforts to prove that they were Muslims, an impression they hoped to make, in the form of jihad, holy war, while raiding Christian Spanish vessels returning from the New World. In spite of this, the cultural differences between the Andalusians and their neighbors continued to keep them in isolation.

The issue of cultural pride needs to be clarified here also. Cultural pride is an additional factor in the Rabati Andalusians' continued isolation. Oral accounts from several Andalusians in Rabat today reinforce the idea that cultural, not religious differences, isolated the Andalusians from other Moroccans. The Andalusians did not seek to assimilate culturally with their Moroccan coregionalists and I propose that this is because the Andalusian heritage was already romanticized and highly valued by Moroccans in the seventeenth century. This is because several previous waves of immigrants from al-Andalus had established themselves in North Africa during periods of political strife in Iberia. Indeed, the arrival of refugees

from Spain in North Africa was nothing new by the seventeenth century. In the eleventh century there was a massive emigration from al-Andalus to North Africa of refugees fleeing from the Cordoban fitnah, civil strife. Many of these refugees settled in the Moroccan city of Fez and founded a new quarter. Other immigrations, arriving between the thirteenth (when all Spanish territories except Granada were gained by the Reconquista) and fifteenth centuries (the fall of Granada to the Catholic Kings) set the precedent for the arrival of the Moriscos in the seventeenth century: they had an historical continuity of immigrations to assist in their acceptance in the North African societies in which they suddenly found themselves.

While this historical continuity did not immediately aid in the Moriscos' acceptance by their Muslim North African neighbors (the Moriscos looked and behaved very Spanish and therefore very Christian), in the long run, by gradually being associated more with the Andalusian ancestry, like all other previous immigrants, the Moriscos were able to transform the stigma of being Moriscos into the status of being Andalusian. It is the continuity of this important and prestigious identity that aided in the persistence of the Andalusian identity for the families that settled in places such as Rabat, Fez, and Tetouan. This continuity was further reinforced by North African travellers to Spain. For example, there is clear evidence,

from 1610 to at least 1930, that travellers to Spain from Morocco as well as from other regions of the Middle East, including Turkey and Persia, were going to Spain in search of continuities of Spain's Islamic past². Through travel to Spain these travellers returned with updated stories to tell of the greatness of al-Andalus and they thus kept the idea of Islamic Spain alive in the minds of many Muslims and Jews. The power of the imagined past of al-Andalus also served to keep the Andalusian identity alive for those Moroccans who claimed ancestry to Spain.

Thus, al-Andalus was a culture and civilization with a broad literature and legacy behind it and by the time of the arrival of the last group of Andalusians from Spain in the seventeenth century, it may have been the only thing they possessed that gave them passage into parts of North Africa. But their religious affiliation was still in question and their "Andalusian-ness" was more "Christianized" than the version their Moroccan coregionalists were used to. What I am suggesting here is that a large part of the persistence of the Andalusian identity among the descendants of the Andalusians that settled in Rabat can be attributed to the combination of perceived positive and negative traits: they were from Al-Andalus and yet they were given minority status

²See L'Espagne: vue par les voyageurs musulmans de 1610 a 1930. Henri Peres. Paris: Librairie d'Amerique et d'Orient, Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales, Faculte des Lettre d'Alger, VI (1937).

and questioned for their religious affiliation. The Andalusians of Rabat were categorized as being different by the surrounding Moroccans and this established their minority status: a majority group is rarely categorized, and this encouraged the isolation and cohesion of the Rabat-Andalusian group. This process may very well have set in motion the isolation of a minority renegade group which later turned its exclusive group status into that of the upper class urban elite of twentieth century Rabat.

The value of place of origin is another factor in identity's persistence in Morocco. Geertz and Rosen have already demonstrated the central role origins hold in constructing a Moroccan's identity³. Nisba, or adjectival, names are often given based on the place of origin of a person, once he leaves that place, and it is a name that sticks for the rest of his life. So too is the case of the Andalusians that settled in Rabat. The Andalusians carry names like "Al-Andalusi", "Al-Gharnati", "Al-Cortobi", "Al-Qasri" ("the Andalusian", "the Granadan", "the Cordoban", "The Caceran", respectively). The adjectival name reinforces a separation between Moroccans from different regions as well as a persistence of identity of place.

In a romantic vein, one Andalusian octogenarian I⁷

³C. Geertz on the nisba: 1979. Meaning and Order in Moroccan Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp.140-150. L. Rosen's discussion of the nisba: 1984. Bargaining for Reality. Chicago: Chicago University Press. P.19.

interviewed told me, concerning the identity of place of al-Andalus, that, "The old people who have homes with balconies overlooking the sea still stand at the sea's edge and nostalgically look to Spain for a sign that they can return." He went on to say that, "The very aristocratic families in Rabat still have the keys to their castles (gusur) and hope one day to return and open the old doors. The homesickness from keeping the keys shows the extent to which they are eager to return, even in their dreams...for something they lost, their paradise, so that even in their prayers they finish by saying: 'May God take back our lost paradise'." With his words in mind, let us look more clearly at how Andalusians discuss their Spanish past.

II. Reference and Usage of the Macrohistorical Andalusian History by Contemporary Rabati Andalusians

It is common for an Andalusian from Rabat to present his family history in two parts. The first part represents the period that his family resided in Spain. This Spanish half of the history possesses less detail, since it is in the more distant past. Sometimes the only known fact about an Andalusian's Spanish heritage is the name of the city or town in Spain from which his family came. Much of what is forgotten of a family's Spanish history is made up for with a set of "collapsed" historical episodes in the mind of the

person doing the remembering. That is, where there is no specific memory, a general memory of the history of Islamic Spain is collapsed into the person's family history. This is a common phenomenon among all Andalusians in Morocco, not only for those with the distinct history of being Moriscos and settling in Rabat. Whatever the specific history of an Andalusian descendant, whether they were refugees to Morocco from the eleventh century civil strife in Cordoba, refugees from the thirteenth century Christian reconquest of Seville (like Ibn Khaldun's family), exiles from Granada before, during, and after 1492, or Moriscos, most Moroccan Andalusians take the total Andalusian heritage as their own heritage. So, even if one family came from Castile in 1610, the glory of Cordoba, Seville, and Granada are also a part of their identity attachments. This offers an Moroccan Andalusian of today an identity with profound depth and broad historical reference.

Furthermore, because the Andalusian heritage is highly valued by Moroccans, and Arabs and Muslims in general, and offers a highly imagined world of the past civilization of Al-Andalus, the Andalusian identity also has a legitimacy and a complexity that give it a broad range of contexts in which it is relevant. An example of the broad applicability of the "imagined" Andalusian identity came in the Second International Meeting of Muslim Preachers held in Marrakech on January 23, 1993. One of the participants at the

conference, praising the King of Morocco's position in support of Bosnian Muslims, stood up and said, "Bosnia-Herzegovina will never be a new Andalusia...".⁴ This historical reference was to the treatment of the Muslims of Granada, as well as the later persecution and expulsion of the Moriscos, at the hands of the Christian monarchy of Spain. In this case al-Andalus was used as the chosen metaphor for Muslim suffering in the contemporary world. It would not have worked, however, to refer to the Arab and Berber invasion of the Iberian Peninsula, another part of the same broad history, as that would have referred to a time when Jews and Christians came under Muslim hegemony. Nor would it work to refer to the ups and downs of convivencia as it varied, retreated and realigned itself under different rulers throughout the nine hundred years (711-1609) of cohabitation. Of course, the Arab and Berber conquest is a good metaphor for the glory of Islam, Arab unity and the transfer of knowledge from Arabs to Europeans. And convivencia is a useful image on which to draw when informing others that Muslims, Jews, and Christians lived in peace once, and, when appropriate, these historical allusions have also been referred to. The Andalusian heritage offers an identity that has a political, cultural,

⁴"Poursuite des travaux de la rencontre internationale des prêcheurs du vendredi: une occasion unique pour les mosquées du monde islamique d'inaugurer une ère nouvelle." In Le Matin, the Moroccan daily journal supported by the Monarchy, January 27, 1993.

ethnic, linguistic, artistic, historical, and transnational quality. It is possible to be Andalusian in these many contexts and while calling oneself one thing there are many options in thinking about oneself and behaving that would all fall under the rhetoric of being Andalusian.

In sum, much of a Rabati Andalusian's pre-expulsion history is a nostalgic and general picture of Islamic Spain. The second part of this history begins around the year 1609 when many Morisco refugees began to settle in Rabat. This later history possesses more specific memories and facts about the family that can be collaborated with written documents. The commonalities that link the Spanish and the Moroccan parts of a family history are the fact that, (1) being Andalusian is central in importance to both parts, and (2) both parts are rich in diverse historical material which reinforces the expansive societal orientation that many Andalusians in Rabat today hold. Thus, in this chapter, the macrohistorical continuity that is recounted concerns the history of Islamic Spain, from 711 to 1492, and the history of the conversion and final expulsion of the Moriscos of Spain, from 1492 to 1614. The following chapter, continues this macrohistorical continuity into the history of the resettlement of the Moriscos in Morocco and of the development of the community that settled in Rabat, from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries.

III. The Cultural History of Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula, 711-1492 A.D.

In order to understand why al-Andalus, Islamic Spain, has captured so much of the romantic imagination of not only Andalusians but of many Muslims, an outline of the cultural history is recounted here. This history is conventionally divided into six periods: the conquest and establishment of centralized rule from Cordoba (711-1008 A.D.); the Fitnah ("civil strife") of the Cordoban political structure and its decline (1008-1032); the resultant non-centralized rule of the Taifa (Party, Faction) kings (1032-1085); the conquest and rule of the Berber Islamic fundamentalist sect of the Almoravids (al-Murabitun, 1085-1150); the conquest and rule of another Berber Islamic fundamentalist sect, the Almohads (al-Muwahidun, 1150-1248); and the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada (1248-1492). More recently, the post-1492 period is also being considered a part of the Islamic presence, albeit clandestine, in Spain, which lasted until the final expulsions of 1609 to 1614. While these seven periods are dealt with here, it is important to point out that there are two other histories interwoven with the one just laid out: that of the Iberian Christians and that of the Iberian Jews. While this is a discussion of the Andalusian Muslim view of history and thus, these other histories cannot be discussed here, nevertheless, they were intertwined (regardless of

what any historiographical tradition says) and events in one community in several locations in the Peninsula influenced or catalyzed events in other communities and regions. As a brief example, the personality of El Cid (who lived during the eleventh century) is one claimed wholly by the Christian historiographical tradition and yet, to begin, the very name comes from Moroccan Arabic al-sid, which is derived from classical Arabic, al-sayyid, meaning, Sir, or Master. El Cid is romanticized as a noble lord who fought for the Christian reconquest and the Christian Holy War (a concept, its Arabic being jihad, in which it is speculated that the Christians got from the Muslims in Spain⁵). In fact, El Cid was an opportunist who took advantage of the Christian and Muslim kings' non-centralized rule: El Cid fought on each side against the other. The case of this one personality not only demonstrates how intertwined and ambiguous were the boundaries between the different communities, but also, how one historiographical tradition has removed the ambiguity by making El Cid a hero of the Reconquest.

Returning to the standard history, the common beginning for the Islamic period in Spain is the year 711 A.D. This year was 79 years after the death of the Prophet Muhammad. Arab Muslim armies had spread quickly across North Africa, conquering and drawing indigenous converts along the way.

⁵Fletcher, 1992:61.

In the early eighth century, at the same time that the Arab military minority had conquered the territory known today as Morocco and gained the marginal allegiance of the Berber tribes, the Visigothic rule of the Iberian Peninsula was in the midst of a succession battle. King Roderic won and took the throne, also in 711. Visigothic Spain was never a stable centralized authority and at the turn of the seventh century, Iberia was at its weakest. It is little surprise that the newly formed Arab and Berber military strength on the southern side of the Straits of Gibraltar, a mere nine miles at its narrowest, was aware of the weak rule in Iberia. Within one year, 711, military campaigns into Iberia by Berber armies led by Arab generals resulted in a rapid conquest of most of the Peninsula. Indeed, until the year 732 A.D. even southern France was under the conquest of the North African army (Gellner was only half joking when he wrote that, had luck been different, we would be reading the sociology of one "Ibn" Weber⁶). Until the year 1086 A.D., all of Iberia, except a narrow northern strip of several small and poorly organized Christian kingdoms, was under Muslim rule.

It is important to point out that from the Muslim historiographical perspective, the unusually rapid conquest of the Iberian Peninsula and the following nine centuries of

⁶Muslim Society, 1981:7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Muslim presence in Iberia is often represented as both the hand of God at work in affirming the rightness of the new faith, as well as a time when the Muslim presence in Europe was strong and culturally fertile.

Many nostalgic images of Islamic Spain among twentieth century Moroccans come from the periods of flourishing arts and sciences during Cordoban rule over the Muslim territories of Iberia. The Cordoban period begins in 756 A.D., the year that the Umayyid prince Abd al-Rahman I established himself as ruler in Cordoba. This he did after surviving both the Abbasid slaughter of his family in Baghdad and after unsuccessfully seeking refuge with his Berber mother's tribe. The zenith of Islamic Spain is considered to be during the Cordoban Caliphate of Abd al-Rahman III (912-961 A.D.), his vizier al-Mansur (976-1002) and al-Mansur's son (1002-1008). It is during this time that the three religious communities of Jews, Christians, and Muslims came together, under the Cordoban ruler's patronage, to translate and interpret ancient Greek texts of the sciences and to develop and innovate new forms of literary, visual, and musical arts. It is this Golden Age from which the ideal notion of convivencia, inter-religious co-existence, comes, though, examples of convivencia exist during other periods of Islamic Spain.

The Cordoban period came to an end with the death of al-Mansur's son, the last ruler to whom the Berber army

remained loyal. Thus, from 1008 to 1031 A.D. begins what is called the period of fitnah, or civil strife. After over two decades of struggle, what emerged were precariously balanced taifa states, that is, city-states. Each was ruled by its own king. Thus, Seville was a city-state ruled by the Abbadids of Seville, a Muslim ruling family of mixed Arab and Iberian ancestry. Similar political structures arose in the regions of Granada (the city of Granada itself did not exist until this period, when a Berber general who took over the rule of the province of Granada founded the city as a strategic location in the mountains), Murcia, Valencia, Toledo, Badajoz, and Zaragoza, to mention the largest and best known. Ironically, during these city-state kingdoms, the innovative arts and sciences of al-Andalus continued to flourish, mostly because each ruler was competing with the others for attracting the best poets, musicians, doctors, and philosophers. The majority of Iberian territory was still under Muslim rule. While political stability within the Muslim Iberian states was precarious during the taifa states, so was the case in the Christian Iberian north where petty squabbles over land and power kept the Christian city-states from organizing against their common conqueror.

It is not until the year 1085, when Toledo is taken by Alfonso VI of Leon and Castile, that the notion of the reconquista, reconquest, by the Christian powers of Iberia,

became popular. It took another century and a half for all but the Kingdom of Granada to be "re"-conquered by the Christian rulers⁷. By 1248 A.D. the only Muslim governed territory in Iberia was the Kingdom of Granada.

It is at this point that the issue of convivencia, which has generated much nostalgia in Christian, Muslim, and Jewish historiography, needs to be taken up again. Convivencia throughout the Islamic period in Spain always existed side by side with conflict. In one region the religious communities may have experienced convivencia while at the same period in another region one or two of the religious communities were in conflict and perhaps even persecuted. This is the general case whether one looks at a Christian kingdom or a Muslim kingdom. However, by the time of the Kingdom of Granada, the Reconquest was seen as successful, even if not complete, and each Christian Spanish kingdom treated its Muslim and Jewish communities differently. The best example of continued harmony and coexistence comes from the Kingdom of Valencia whose rulers, most of the time, recognized the necessary symbiosis of the three religious communities in order to maintain their

⁷There is a great deal of debate as to whether these sequences of territorial conquest can be seen as a reconquest. Indeed, the Christian propaganda was claiming that the Christian powers of the north were the heirs of the Visigothic dynasty and that they were reclaiming old territory. However, these claims are being made over three centuries after the fall of King Roderic and that very event of Arab and Berber conquest in 711 was the catalyst for an emerging Christian Spanish identity in the middle ages.

economic strength.

The taifa period, ending with the increasing strength of the Christian-ruled north, is followed by two waves of Berber fundamentalist invasions; first the Almoravids and then their conquerors the Almohads. This period of history is less idealized by Andalusians, though, contemporary Berbers in Morocco do draw on this history, as well as on the role that Berbers gave in the original conquest of Iberia in 711 A.D., in order to legitimize their place in Arab Moroccan history. Moreover, Berbers today will also use these periods of Iberian history to argue their place as equals to Arab Moroccans. Nevertheless, for the Andalusians, their focus falls on the Cordoban Caliphate, the Taifa States and the Kingdom of Granada. Before moving on to the latter, the Almoravid and Almohad conquests are as important as the other periods. For one thing, they both mark a period of unified rule between the Peninsula and northwestern Africa. For another, they represent a time of lessened convivencia because of the fundamentalistic nature of the conquerors, who felt that Iberian Islam was corrupt (and indeed, from the orthodox view it was, though, it still was producing important philosophical texts). Ibn Khaldun, over a century later, looked to the Almoravids and the Almohads as an example of his sociological theory which stated that tribal groups possess a strong group allegiance which softens and grows corrupt when the group settles into

urban contexts (Fletcher, 1992:125). Indeed, because of the loss of unified control over both the Peninsula and territory in North Africa, it became easier for the Christian Iberian Kingdoms in the north, who for the first time in their history were unifying their powers, to rapidly gain territory. From 1212 to 1248, all previously Muslim held territory except Granada had been taken by the northern Christian kingdoms and divided amongst their heirs.

The Kingdom of Granada, which lasted from 1248 to 1492, is the final period of Iberian Islamic history that is romanticized by Muslims in general and Andalusians in particular. The Nasrid Kingdom of Granada is ideally seen as the last stronghold of Muslims in Spain. It is also seen as a final flourishing of the Andalusian civilization. Granada is also held as a final refuge for Iberian Muslims in other parts of Spain who were fleeing persecution between the 13th and the 15th centuries. In truth, the Kingdom of Granada was only nominally independent and paid tributes to the Crown of Castile in order to keep its peace. The reason that this nominal independence was revoked in 1492 has more to do with the changing identity of Christian Spain than of the Granadans' ability to pay the tributes or to fight for their territory. However, this is not how the historiography represents it. On the Christian side, the historiographical tradition speaks of the completion of the Reconquista and the unification of Spain into a national

identity through religion and politics. Concerning Granada from the Muslim perspective, the historiographical tradition recounts the loss of all rights for Muslims and Jews as communities of worship. The year 1492 marks not only the mass exodus of Jews who chose not to accept baptism, but of Muslims who either feared that the same pressure of conversion would be placed on them, or that they should seek a home in Muslim lands while they still could.

It is at this intersection in time and events that the complicated period of Morisco history begins. It is important to state two important points before going on. First, the history of Islamic Spain is highly polarized and yet the reality of the events shows that one cannot so easily divide the Christian from the Muslim from the Jewish, because so much cultural, linguistic, and genetic mixing went on. Second, the polarization of this history does take place because it allows romanticization of a civilization that offers a rich reservoir for Muslim or Jewish or Christian identity, especially for a person who claims this ancestry and who today lives in a society , such as Morocco, that still highly values the Andalusian past.

IV. The History of the Moriscos in Spain, 1492-1614

This final period of the Muslim presence in Spain is the least considered to of all periods. More recently the

scholarship on Moriscos by European and American scholars has increased, yet, the Muslim world has paid less attention to this history⁸. For example, L.P. Harvey, a leading scholar on Morisco history, writes:

"It is surprising that there has been so little debate within the Islamic world about this final aspect [i.e. the Moriscos] of the experience of Spain's Muslims. In 1991, when the Islamic peoples are in the midst of a great debate on where they stand in relation to the modern Western world, the experience of the Moriscos is not without relevance. Rather than focus on the Moriscos, however, modern Muslims seem to prefer to direct their attention towards other experiences of al-Andalus, on the philosophers of the 5th/11th-7th/13th centuries, or on the heroic conquerors of earlier periods" (1992:212).

Harvey's writing well represents this oversight, though he has overlooked one critical fact: many modern Muslims also look to the fall of the Kingdom of Granada as the great metaphor of their loss of power and of their oppression by Christian Europe. The fall of Granada is held nostalgically and romantically as a noble time for Muslims. It is after all, popularly referred to as jannat al-zasr, Paradise

⁸This is not to say that there are not Muslim historians who have looked at the Moriscos. Most importantly are the efforts of A. Temimi's Research Center on the Moriscos and the Ottomans in Tunisia. Also of importance is Razzuq's book on the Morisco immigration to Morocco (1989).

Lost⁹ and held as a time when a great injustice was dealt a noble people. However, this kind of attention is not given to the Moriscos, in keeping with Harvey's statement, who truly dealt with the brunt of unjust policies under the newly forged and unified nation of Spain. For the sake of romance, the Moriscos are too ambiguous and sticky an issue to simplify easily into nostalgic terms. Both this issue of ambiguity and Harvey's passage above help clarify how it is that the Rabati Andalusians in North Africa, who are descended from Moriscos and not earlier Andalusian refugees, quickly assimilated themselves into the less stigmatized history of pre-1492 Spain.

In 1492, unlike the Spanish Jews, the Spanish Muslims had not yet received the ultimatum to either convert to Christianity or to leave the Peninsula. But as early as 1499, Muslims of Spain knew that the same prospect presented to the Jewish communities would be enforced upon them. In 1501 a royal decree was made requiring the Muslims of Granada to convert to Christianity or face exile. This capitulation translated into conversion activities throughout the different kingdoms of Spain from 1501 to 1526. In 1501 the Granadan Muslims were baptized, in 1502 the same activity spread to Castile. By 1526, the Muslims

⁹This is the term I was told by several Moroccans as the way they learned the history of Islamic Spain in secondary school. These same people said that this is a popular sentiment toward the fall of the Kingdom of Granada.

of Granada, Castile, Aragon, Valencia, Extremadura and elsewhere in Spain had converted.

The choice of conversion or exile was a difficult one. Conversion meant abandoning one's religious community for that of their conqueror's. Exile meant not only leaving the land one considered home for up to eight centuries of ancestry, nor did it only mean leaving much of one's possessions behind, it also meant leaving one's younger children in Spain¹⁰. Many did go, though it appears that many more stayed and converted. This latter group of Muslim converts were thereafter called or Cristianos Nuevos, new Christians. By the middle of the sixteenth century the term Morisco became widespread in reference to these new Christians¹¹. These terms indicate a separation of the new Christians from the old Christians: the Moriscos were to be seen as a minority in Spain up to their final expulsion in the early seventeenth century. Many Moriscos were suspected of retaining loyalty to Islam and practicing Muslim sacred rituals in secret. Other Moriscos had fully left their Muslim past and embraced the Catholic Church with hope of complete assimilation into Spanish Christian society.

¹⁰For a fuller discussion of these conditions, see Roger Boase, 1990:9-28; and Ellen G. Friedman, 1983:10-23.

¹¹Harvey (1992:202) defines Morisco as both "Moorish", and as those Muslims who were forced to convert to Christianity in Spain, a noun. It is possible that Morisco may mean both. While both meanings are in usage in Spanish, only the latter definition applies in this context.

Before the completion of the conversion edicts of 1501 to 1526 the living conditions of Muslims living in the various Christian kingdoms of Spain, known as Mudejars¹², varied as greatly as did the rule of each kingdom. The Muslims of Granada were perhaps the most harshly treated in the course of the forced conversions. It was in Granada where the zealous and ambitious primate of the Spanish church, Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros pushed aside the archbishop of Granada Hernando de Talavera's policies of persuasive conversion and replaced them with his policies of forced conversions. So as to make an example of his policies, Cisneros took one of the Muslim leaders of Granada, el Zegri, and under torment and torture squeezed a conversion out of him (Harvey, 1992:204).

It comes as little surprise then that it was the Muslims of Granada, now nominally converted to Christianity, who sought help from the Mamluks in Egypt. Rather than military aid, they asked for diplomatic sway through pressuring the Catholic Kings to treat their Muslim subjects fairly in exchange for the safety of Christians living under Mamluk rule. Later, after 1517 with the fall of the Mamluks and the rise of the Ottoman Empire, the same diplomatic intervention was asked of the Ottomans. In both cases, because of the economic and military strength of the Spanish

¹²The term "mudejar" strictly refers to Muslims living under Christian rule in Spain. "Mozarab" is the term for a Christian living under Muslim rule in Spain.

Empire, neither Mamluks nor Ottomans assisted the newly converted Muslims (Harvey, 1992:205-208).

In other regions of Spain, the forced conversion policy spread to the older communities of Mudejars; communities which had lived under Christian rule since the mid-thirteenth century (The best-known cases are of those Mudejars of Aragon, Valencia, and Castile). In 1502, the Mudejars of Castile were forced to convert or be exiled. 1515 marks the date of forced conversion of the Mudejars of Navarre. In 1526 the Mudejars of the territory of Aragon (then collectively the territories of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia) faced the same circumstances. The circumstances of the Mudejars of Aragon differed in that they were well integrated and quite successful citizens. The governing powers in Aragon did not wish to carry out the policies of conversion. Ultimately they were forced to do so because several germanias, Christian revolutionary brotherhoods had cropped up in reaction to the perceived economic competition that the Christian proletariat of these orders felt with their economic Mudejar counterparts (Harvey, 1992:220-221). Here again, one cannot make a simple history out of a complex one. In all the regions where the conversion policy was enforced there are tales of woe as well as tales of perplexed and angered "old" Christians who were friends with members of the Mudejar-turned-Morisco community. There are many documents pointing to both the ill-treatment as well as

to the sympathetic support offered the Moriscos (ibid., 1992).

With the final conversions of Aragon, no Muslims officially existed in Spain. However, given the sudden and forced nature of the conversions, not all Moriscos felt that they were Christians, beyond the fact of their baptism. From 1526 to 1609 one finds a mix of religious expression. Some Moriscos chose the path of total assimilation and there are examples of Moriscos that fully adopted the faith of Catholic Spain (the best example is the Morisco Jesuit, Ignacio de las Casas [ibid.:209]). Other Moriscos, the best documented being those of Granada and those of the village of Hornachos in Extremadura, chose nominal conversion to Christianity and secret maintenance of Islam within their homes. Additionally, there were times when the Moriscos of Granada sought Mamluk and later Ottoman aid in their plight, and the Moriscos of Aragon sought the assistance of the Protestants first of France and then of England. In none of these cases were the Moriscos aided, but their actions brought further suspicion upon them from the offices of the Inquisition, which saw them as Christian and therefore vulnerable to being tried by the Inquisition in matters of faith.

Harvey aptly summarized the condition of the Moriscos as betwixt and between and writes: "The Moriscos energetically cultivated their distinctiveness; their

allegiance to Muhammad and his Companions; but the 16th-century moment and milieu could not be prevented from showing through. However hard they might try to belong elsewhere, the Moriscos also belonged to Spain" (1992:218). Thus, whether the Moriscos resisted or complied, slowly they were assimilating to the ways of the Christian Spanish society in which they lived. Even for those Moriscos who maintained secret Muslim practices, these practices were diverging from those of the rest of the Muslim world.

After the period of forced conversions passed, the life of the Moriscos in the various regions, while changing in status, still offered some freedom from further persecution. This is explained largely by the fact that the Moriscos continued to hold important roles in the society and offered important skills. Also, by the sixteenth century, the Spanish Empire, wealthy and powerful as it was, was always in need of immediate cash. Several Moriscos made large cash payments to the Spanish Crown in order to be overlooked by the Inquisition. This arrangement seems to have lasted until 1567 and consequently allowed some leverage for the continued practice of Islam in their homes. However, in 1567, with the ascension of Philip II to the throne, such immunity was no longer possible. Because of the growing external political threats to the Spanish Empire, including the Protestant powers and the Ottoman Turks with whom some Moriscos were found to have dealings, and the realization

that many Moriscos had still not assimilated into Spanish society, discussions of the "Morisco problem" arose and at Philip II's prompting solutions to this "problem" were sought. The Crown's pressure on the Moriscos to assimilate resulted in a series of revolts in the Granadan mountains, the most famous being the revolt of the Alpujarras (1568-1570), and accelerated Philip II's desire for a solution. In 1609, Philip III, Philip II's son, implemented the final solution: the mass expulsion of all Moriscos from Spain.

V. The Final Expulsion and the Morisco Exodus

The Spanish Empire did not expel all the Moriscos at once, but rather, published staggered expulsion edicts for each region in order to mobilize Spanish troops in carrying out the expulsion policies. The first expulsion edict was published in 1609 and was aimed at Valencia. The date 1609 is not random. It was in that year that Spain achieved a truce with the Low Countries, France, and England (Harvey, 1992:226 and 230). Consequently, the Spanish Empire used the manpower of returning troops from abroad to carry out the expulsions.

Thus, in 1609 the Moriscos from the regions of Valencia, Castile, and Extremadura were expelled. In 1610 the Moriscos from Andalucia followed and in 1611 the

expulsion of the Moriscos of Catalonia took place. Finally, in 1614, the final year of the expulsions, the Moriscos of Murcia were forced to leave Spain (Souissi, 1979:104).

Estimates of the number of Moriscos expelled currently range between 275,000-300,000. The total number of Moriscos in early seventeenth century Spain, with a total populace of approximately 7.5 million, is placed, somewhere between 300,000-500,000¹³. The Kingdom of Valencia alone, with a total population of around 500,000, lost one-third of its population to the expulsions. Moreover, not all Moriscos were expelled. Some were never noticed, having assimilated generation after generation. Other Moriscos, mostly land laborers in Valencia, were considered necessary by their lords to keep the land going and thus were protected from expulsion. Also, the Catalan Moriscos within the Crown of Aragon appear to have been spared expulsion because of ecclesiastical protection from their region (Harvey, 1992:231). Also a much smaller number of Moriscos who had been expelled managed to smuggle themselves back into Spain and resettled unnoticed in another part of the Peninsula.

An unusual source on the Moriscos, but one which I

¹³Concerning the estimates of Spain's total population in the beginning of the seventeenth century: L.P. Harvey places the population number at 8-9 million (1992:231); S. Ackerlind gives the figure of 7.5-10 million (1989:35); and R. Boase's figure is at 7.5 million (1990:12).

Estimates of the number of Moriscos in Spain and the number of Moriscos expelled come from A. Chejne (1983:13 and 279); A. Hess (1989:154); and H. Lapeyre (1959:204).

believe to be integrating the varied sentiments of the Moriscos and of the old Christians during the expulsion years of the early seventeenth century, comes from Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's Don Quixote de La Mancha. This tale was written in two parts, the first being published in 1605 and the second was published in 1615, one year after the completion of the expulsion policy. There are many reasons to take this as an informative source on the Moriscos. First, Cervantes was a keen observer of his society and in his novel of Don Quixote, he was breaking the standard of the Romantic Chivalric novels that went before him and that were so popular in Spain during his life. After all, the character of Don Quixote could only have been constructed by one not only aware of his society, but willing to poke fun at what it deemed serious. Second, when Cervantes was writing his second part of Don Quixote, all of Spain was preparing for and experiencing the staggered expulsion of a significant proportion of its society. Third, from many documents from this era, it is clear that among the old Christians there were opinions covering the whole spectrum, from support of the policy to embarrassment and opposition toward such a prejudicial act. Cervantes captures these opinions in his dialogue between the faithful Sancho Panza and a Morisco neighbor of his who left his village and later snuck back into Spain passing as an old Christian Spaniard and who tells of how he went to Germany to make his fortune.

The fourth and final reason why Don Quixote is an important source on the Moriscos is that not all the Moriscos were crypto-Muslims nor desired to go to Muslim lands, but of these Moriscos we have less documentation. Yet, Cervantes addresses this sentiment, possibly by drawing upon the social hearsay of the time (and perhaps direct knowledge, of which I will return to below) to construct the following dialogue, which is worth presenting here in order to offer a synthesized perspective of the Moriscos' special circumstances:

"Sancho, who was astonished to hear his name called and be embraced by the pilgrim stranger [possibly a pilgrim to Santiago de Compostela, which was still a popular pilgrimage], stared at him without speaking, but stare as he would he could not remember him."

"Is it possible, brother Sancho Panza, that you don't recall your neighbor, Ricote, the Morisco shopkeeper of your village."

Then Sancho, after giving him another close look, began to call him to mind, and at last he remembered him perfectly, and without dismounting, he hugged him around the neck, saying: "Ricote, who the devil could recognize you in your merry-andrew's costume? Tell me now, who has frenchified you in this way? How is it you dare to come back to Spain? Why, if they find you out, you'll be in for a bad time."

"If you don't give me away, Sancho, replied the pilgrim, "I'm safe enough, for not a soul would know me in this get-up...I assure you...an opportunity to tell you how I spent my time since I was forced to leave our town in obedience to the king's edict, which, as you know, so severely threatens the people of my unfortunate nation." (1957:386).

"...Ricote, without once stumbling into his

Morisco jargon, spoke pure Castillian as follows¹⁴:

"You are well aware, Sancho Panza, my friend, how terrified our race were when the edict of His Majesty was proclaimed. It certainly produced such a dread effect upon me that I almost imagined the law had already been executed upon me and my children before the time-limit for our departure had expired. Accordingly, I left our village by myself and went to seek some place beforehand, where I might conveniently convey my family without the hurry and confusion which prevailed when the rest set out; for I knew, and so too did the elders of my race, that the edicts of His Majesty were no mere threats, as some said, but genuine laws that would be put into force within a determined time. I was all the more inclined to believe this, being aware that our people were continually plotting against the State, and I could not but think that His Majesty was inspired by Heaven to take so gallant a resolution. It is true we were not all guilty, but we were so few in number that we were no match for those who were otherwise..." (1957:387-388).

From this point, in Ricote's conversation with Sancho, he goes on to express the dangers that the Moriscos experienced in North Africa, as he says, "...for in Barbary and other parts of Africa, where we expected to be welcomed and cherished, it is there that they treated us with the grossest inhumanity" (ibid.:388). Then, Ricote explains to Sancho that he has returned to dig up some of his treasure which he had buried for safe keeping before he left. This

¹⁴So far, into this part of the tale, we have already learned what few documents can tell us: that some Moriscos did sneak back into Spain undetected, that not all old Christians were prejudiced toward them, and that the Moriscos spoke their own "jargon" but some, perhaps many, were capable of speaking high Spanish, Castillian.

part seems to be more of legend than of truth; many old Christians went looking for buried Morisco treasures, which they never found. However, the need to protect what a Morisco could of his property was very real, for many Moriscos' possessions were confiscated or robbed from them; some before they left their homes, some along their journey out of Spain, and still others, upon arriving in the territories where they sought refuge.

The final theme concerning the Moriscos which Ricote discusses with Sancho is the fate of his family. Again, this passage from Cervantes seems to synthesize a number of truths as to the ambiguity of the religious status of the Moriscos:

"...I intend to write or cross myself from Valencia to my wife and daughter, who are, I know, in Algiers¹⁵, and find some means or other to get them over to a port in France, and thence carry them into Germany, where we will wait and see what God has in store for us. Francisca, my wife, I know is a good Catholic Christian, and my daughter Ricota also. Though I myself am not so far on as they are, yet I am more a Christian than a Mohammedan..." (1957:389).

¹⁵During the expulsions, a very common route was through the port of Denia, in Valencia, onward to Oran, at that time an Algerian port under Spanish control. From Oran, many Moriscos tried to make their way to Algiers. The Moriscos were subjected to many dangers once they left the borders of Oran (some also were robbed by the ship crew before getting to the port or once there) which included being robbed and/or murdered by bandits who saw them as both fair game and as Christian.

A few passages later, the theme returns to this religious ambiguity of the Moriscos:

"Sancho, my friend, I won't press you any longer," said Ricote, "but tell me now: were you by chance in our village when my wife, my daughter, and my brother-in-law went off?"

"Yes, I was there," replied Sancho, "and by the same token that daughter of yours looked so handsome that the whole village turned out to see her, and all said she was the fairest creature on God's earth. She kept crying all the way, and embracing all her friends and acquaintances; she begged all who came to see her off to pray to Our Lady for her, and that so piteous a manner that she even made me cry...there were many had a good mind to kidnap her on the road and hide her away, but fear of the King's order had them cowed. He who carried on most passionately was Don Pedro Gregorio, that rich young heir you know. They say he was daft about her, and since she left he hasn't shown himself in our village..."

"All along I suspected that this young fellow was courting my daughter, but I always put my trust in my Ricota's virtue, so it didn't worry me to know that he loved her, for you must have heard said, Sancho, that Moorish women seldom or ever married Old Christians for love, so I'm sure that my daughter, who I believe, minded her Christian religion more than love, would pay scant heed to the courting of this young heir."

"God grant it," replied Sancho, "otherwise 'twould be the worse for both of them." (pp.390-391).

In this final passage, the religious ambiguity--being seen as Christian while still being called a Moorish woman--is seen along with the idea that the Moriscos were not fully assimilating with the Old Christians.

Not only is Cervantes' Don Quixote challenging literary

forms of his era, but the content is also challenging many ideas held in Spanish society. Concerning just chapter XIII where the Moriscos are mentioned, Cervantes' tone is bringing in the ambiguity surrounding Philip III's decision to expel the Moriscos, and is also revealing sympathy for their circumstances. This latter issue has been recently brought up by the Spanish scholar Abd al-Rahman Medina Molera, who argues the possibility that Cervantes himself came from a Morisco family (1989:29-36). Molera holds Cervantes up as the perfect example of a Morisco whose family assimilated so well into Old Christian society, that when the expulsion edict was published, he was overlooked. He argues that Cervantes' sympathy for the Morisco situation stemmed from his inside perspective as a Morisco. The irony of this argument if it proves true, and there are good cases made in support of it¹⁶, is that Cervantes' Spanish prose is held up as the model of good modern Castillian and as pure Spanish from a pure Spaniard (in the words of my Spanish tutor, "¡El puro de los puros!")

¹⁶Molera argues from a literary criticism perspective and analyzes the structure of Cervantes' text as putting forth forms of expression familiar among Moriscos. Also, Molera makes a genealogical case for Cervantes as coming from a Cordoban family that was Muslim and converted in the early sixteenth century, three generations before Cervantes was born (1989:34). Moreover, Molera believes that Cervantes' father, who served on the Inquisition's tribunal, took up such an office in order to prove the conviction of his faith and steer the Inquisition's eyes away from his family (1989:36).

A. Moriscos in Algeria

As has already been referred to above, the first Moriscos to be deported from Spain in 1609 left from the port of Denia, near Valencia, and arrived in Oran, Algeria three days later. It is estimated that 60,000 Moriscos went to Algeria, 80,000 to Tunisia, and 80,000 to Morocco (approximately 40,000 Moriscos went to the Moroccan city of Tetouan and the other 40,000 settled mostly in Fez and Rabat)¹⁷. The Spanish ships' crews en route to Algeria were brutal to the Moriscos and it is documented that some 500-600 Moriscos were massacred during the first deportation. Within two months of the first deportations approximately 116,000 Moriscos disembarked in Algerian territory (Mikel de Epalza, 1992:218). Here again, the Moriscos faced massacre. To the Algerians, the Moriscos were not perceived as brothers, but rather as potential enemies who spoke only Spanish and wore European clothes (ibid, 1992:219). The result of the massacres of the Moriscos in Algerian territory led to outrage among sympathetic Spaniards and Moroccans. Security was heightened as Moriscos made their way to the greater safety of the walled cities of Algiers, Tlemcen, and Cherchel (de Epalza, 1992:219). For the Moriscos who settled in Tlemcen,

¹⁷E.G. Friedman, 1983, pp.23-26; and M. de Epalza, 1992, pp.146-148.

they were more immediately integrated and welcomed, as this city was already an Andalusian refuge for the previous waves of immigration from al-Andalus, and the Morisco presence served to rejuvenate the Andalusian traditions in the city (ibid:223). The Moriscos who settled in Algiers came indirectly from Spain, via France and Italy¹⁸. Other Moriscos in Algeria established themselves on the farm lands near the main Algerian cities and provided agricultural supplies to the urban centers.

The scholarship on the Moriscos in Algeria is not abundant and it appears that this is because of little documentation. However, I have been told that in Oran, Algiers, and Tlemcen there still is a strong Andalusian culture in certain quarters of these cities. It is possible that the Andalusian cultural presence today in these cities may be attributed to an Andalusian cultural revival stirred by the arrival of the Moriscos.

B. Moriscos in Tunisia

Currently much scholarship is being done on both 17th century Morisco-Tunisian settlements and the persistent

¹⁸The reason for indirect passage to North Africa was that, for the Moriscos to be able to leave Spain with all their children, they had to head for other Christian lands. Thus, many Moriscos first embarked on ships for France or Italy and then rerouted to North Africa. Other Moriscos stayed and settled in Christian countries.

architectural and artistic forms that are attributed to the Morisco-Andalusian presence in Tunisia. This recent scholarship is attributed to both ample documentation as well as to the encouragement of research, especially through the Centre d'Etudes et des Recherches Ottomanes, Morisques, de Documentation et d'Information under the founding and directorship of Abdejelil Temimi.

It is in Tunisia that one finds the most clearly defined and isolated Andalusian communities of Morisco origin whose identities as "Andalusian" have persisted up to the current era, however, a thorough investigation as to the reason for this persistence has not been yet conducted. The Tunisian case may provide different information than the Moroccan case given the greater isolation and rural character of the Tunisian Morisco sites as well as given the fact that they were under Ottoman rule and Morocco never was.

According to de Epalza (1992), Tunisia had received fewer immigrants from Spain in the sixteenth century (many went to Morocco) and so the Moriscos settling in Tunisia had less of a cultural continuity with earlier Andalusian immigrants. Consequently, they were more isolated and interacted less with the surrounding population. There is a similar case for the Moriscos who settled in Rabat because previous Andalusian refugees to Morocco were going to regions around Tetouan and Fez, and thus, the cultural

differences were bound to be greater, between the Moriscos in Rabat and the residents of Sale, than they were for Moriscos who settled in the traditional refugee cities (Tetouan and Fez) of Morocco. In the Rabati case, both initial cultural difference as well as a historical continuity connecting the Moriscos into the total Andalusian past of Morocco helped preserve the Andalusian identity. However, a significant difference between the Moriscos that settled in Tunisia and those that settled in Morocco is that the former created several agricultural villages that served as the hinterlands for nearby urban centers. The Tunisian Moriscos were largely agriculturalists. There is a Morisco quarter in Tunis and some Morisco settlements along sea ports, however, the majority settled in unsettled tribal territory where they cultivated new agricultural fields. The Moroccan Moriscos in contrast settled mostly in urban centers.

C. Moriscos in Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the New World

A final note, before discussing the Moriscos that settled in Morocco, in order to present a complete picture of the fate of the Moriscos after Philip III's decree is that there were many Moriscos who did not wish to go to North Africa and for either religious or economic reasons

many Moriscos sought Europe (especially France and Italy), or further east from Tunisia (Libya, Anatolia, the Balkins, Syria, Egypt (Alexandria and Cairo), Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Israel and Turkey) for their new homeland (de Epalza, 1992:181-277). Also, there are records of Moriscos on the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, on maritime expeditions to India, and on military expeditions from Morocco into sub-Saharan Africa (ibid., 1992:277). In almost all the territories that the Moriscos settled, they established agricultural colonies in the countryside surrounding urban centers, or as urbanites, they provided artisanal works, mercantile businesses, and military service to their new homelands. Finally, for the Moriscos who settled in Mediterranean and Atlantic coastal cities, especially in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, many also entered into corsair activity as a viable means for making a living. Furthermore, approximately 60,000 Moriscos (one-fifth of the total Morisco population) are assumed to have lost their lives while travelling, by sea or overland, to France or to North Africa, between 1609-1611¹⁹.

D. Moriscos in Morocco

It appears that most of the Moriscos arriving in Morocco settled in the urban centers of Tetouan, Fez, and

¹⁹Boase, 1990:12.

Rabat. Of these Moriscos who may have settled in more rural regions, little is known (Busto, 1992:60). Also, what became of the Moriscos that went to Fez is not clear because their assimilation was rapid. The Moriscos who settled in Tetouan settled among other families that claimed an Andalusian ancestry since Tetouan's refounding in 1485 by al-Mandari, a Granadan who sought first to fight the predicted fall of the Kingdom of Granada and who later provided Tetouan as a pre- and post-1492 refugee city (Busto, 1988). Thus, indeed, Rabat was the only urban settlement in Morocco whose origins were Morisco. However, shortly after the Moriscos came to Rabat they attracted other Andalusians to the city because of its corsair economy. This is the history that the next chapter addresses.

VI. Conclusion

This chapter has laid out both the actual history, as well as the images of history that Andalusians still refer to, that are important in understanding the Andalusians in general. Within the events that spanned nine centuries, 711 to 1614, there are many points of reference to which Andalusians, whether they are from Rabat, or many of the other North African cities claiming an Andalusian heritage, refer in constructing both their sense of their past and

their contemporary identity. However, in the case of each of these Andalusians from different cities, the history of their city of resettlement is also pertinent to their idea of who they are, as Andalusians and as Moroccans. The case of the Andalusians of Rabat is no exception and may actually set the rule more than the other North African cities because of its isolated and deeply maintained Andalusian history.

Chapter 4: Macro-Historical Continuity of the Andalusians of Rabat: The Post-Expulsion History

I. The Seventeenth Century Resettlement of Rabat: The Hornacheros and the Three City-States of the Bouregreg River Valley

Rabat had been in ruins since the abandonment of the twelfth century Almohad Dynasty's building campaigns²⁰. Rabat was originally founded in the year 1150 A.D. as an Almohad fortress from which campaigns against twelfth century Spain were to be launched. The campaigns against Spain were never carried out from Rabat, as Almohad concerns were turned towards internal problems. However, from 1184 to 1199, the Almohad ruler Yaqub al-Mansur, the grandson of Rabat's founder, returned attention to Rabat and began ambitious, though never completed, building projects. It was during this brief period that the most prominent architectural features of the city were built, including the famous Hassan Mosque whose minaret was a cousin to the Kutubiya Minaret in Marrakech and the Giralda Tower in Seville. Upon al-Mansur's death in 1199, all major building

²⁰The Merenid Dynasty, which wrested control from the Almohad Dynasty in the thirteenth century, only used the old Roman settlement of Sala Colonia, south of Rabat proper, only as a royal cemetery.

projects in Rabat stopped. A few people continued to inhabit Rabat for another fifty years. By the mid-thirteenth century Rabat was absorbed into the new dynasty in Morocco, the Merenids, and it is estimated that nine-tenths of Rabat's population fled during the fighting around the city²¹. From this time until the arrival of the Moriscos in the early seventeenth century Rabat was mostly overgrown by vines and occupied by a small population of some 100 households which were at the sight of the original fortress.²² Sale, across the river, was the more flourishing city through the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries.

The first Moriscos to arrive in the region of Rabat and Sale, in 1608, were all from the village of Hornachos in the Spanish province of Extremadura. This group had managed, through bribes, to leave Spain before the decreed expulsion order for Extremadura was published, and to resettle in Morocco as a whole village. The Hornacheros, as they were called, were unusual in that they left Spain with their wealth intact and they were able to resettle with most (though not all) of their families²³. When the Hornacheros

²¹J. Abu-Lughod, 1982:58.

²²ibid, pp.58-59. This is a figure Abu-Lughod reports from Leo Africanus' travel description when he visited Rabat in the sixteenth century.

²³The Hornacheros were the most famous, or infamous given the observer's perspective, group of dissident Moriscos in Spain. They had somehow managed to live almost

first arrived in the Rabat-Salé river valley, they had hoped to settle in the inhabited and thriving city of Salé. However, the inhabitants of Salé were wary of these newcomers, first because they were newcomers, and second, because the people from Salé were not convinced that these Moriscos were indeed Muslims. To the people of Salé the Moriscos appeared to be Christian and Spanish because of the style of their dress and because they spoke Castillian not Arabic. For example, Razzuq cites that from the perspective of the people of Salé, " '...the Andalusians had brought with them the customs and traditions which possessed the novel quality of Spain. They brought fixed with them from Spain religious manners, being the result of the suppression placed upon them throughout the long multiple years and these were the manners that they relied upon in public, instead of being outward bearing. This latter topic was to such a degree of deception that they were taken for Christians' "24. Unwelcomed in Salé, the Hornacheros

exclusively in their village of Hornachos and were known for their wealth, got perhaps through counterfeiting activities and through banditry. The Spanish Crown was only too happy to see them go (even though, a few months after their departure, the Bank of Valencia fell under riots because they unknowingly had circulated the counterfeited money into the population of that region!). It is possible that the Crown expected a troublesome departure from the Hornacheros and so, was willing to let them go early with all their wealth and families.

24. Razzuq, 1989:302 cites sources from Salé which chronicle the opinions of the people of Salé over the arrival and settlement of the Moriscos in Rabat across the river.

crossed the river and rebuilt and refortified the old twelfth century Almohad fortress of Rabat, known as the Qasbah.

In the Qasbah, the Hornachero Moriscos²⁵ were relatively independent. This owes much to the weak central rule of the Sa'adian Dynasty which at the time of the Moriscos' arrival in Rabat was focusing much of its energy on a succession battle. Moreover, the Hornacheros became involved in piracy out of the river-mouth port of Sale and Rabat, an activity which already existed there since the turn of the sixteenth century. In addition to the Moriscos from Hornachos, many of the pirates in Rabat were a combination of European and Barbary pirates and a few from Sale. The use of this Atlantic port, and others along the Moroccan coast, had everything to do with the shift of maritime commerce to the Atlantic and away from the Mediterranean. And this shift was directly linked to the commercial exploits of the New World, which were begun after 1492.

After the arrival of the Hornacheros to the Qasbah of

²⁵In the early 17th century history of Rabat, the Hornacheros and the Moriscos who arrived after the former Moriscos' settlement in Rabat, were almost always in conflict with each other. This division between the Hornacheros and other Moriscos disappeared after the region of Rabat came under 'Alawi rule in 1664. Few names of the Hornachero Moriscos, consequently, have been preserved. Nevertheless, Busto has found some of the Rabati Andalusian family names in the pre-expulsion records the archives of the village of Hornachos, Spain. These are: Tello, Duque, Palfresa, Correona, Durdox, and Morino (1974:35).

Rabat²⁶ word spread and many Moriscos, as well as other Andalusians who had come to Morocco before 1609, began arriving in Rabat under the ideal of establishing a purely Andalusian city. Many Moriscos from the Spanish regions of Castile, Valencia, Murcia, Andalusia, and Extremadura came to Rabat and built below the Qasbah what is today called the Medina of Rabat. The first fifty years of Rabat's Morisco presence were as an independent pirate republic²⁷. After the Moriscos settled Rabat, some of them turned to piracy upon European vessels as these ships returned from the New World. The rest of Morocco called the Moriscos in Rabat al-muslimun min Rabat, the Muslims from Rabat, an unusual title in the Muslim world where this kind of a distinction between members of the community of the faithful is highly uncommon. This title indicates that many Moroccans did not view the newcomers as Muslims. As Bookin-Weiner points out, the exact history of how these Moriscos and other Andalusians came to Rabat is not clear. What is clear is that by 1619 Morisco corsairs, using their good Castillian (just as was mentioned in Don Quixote in the previous chapter) were leading raids along the Spanish coasts where goods were

²⁶Busto estimates that some 3,000 individuals left Hornachos and established their selves in Rabat's qasbah (1974:49-50).

²⁷Guillermo Gozalbes Busto. 1974. La Republica Andaluza de Rabat en el Siglo XVII. Cuadernos de la Biblioteca Espanola de Tetuan, no. 9-10. Tetouan, Morocco: Imprenta Minerva.

stolen and captives were taken. These captives were either turned into slave labor back in Morocco or ransomed by Spanish missions that were coming to Rabat, as well as to Tetouan. Indeed, one manuscript tells of a fisherman off the coast of Galicia who was taken hostage and later ransomed by a Spanish priest (Busto, personal communication, Granada, 1995).

Thus, the Moriscos were expelled from Spain into this world of piracy and Atlantic maritime economics. It is small wonder that some Moriscos would seek revenge and take up piracy. No more famous an example are those Moriscos who came to Rabat and made their new living in the high seas. The other important Morisco pirate port was operated out of Tetouan. Moreover, to tangle this web, since the fifteenth century, Spain had attacked and held various port sights, along the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts. Thus, the strife between Morocco and Spain's imperialistic forays into North Africa (for example, Spain's seizure of al-Ma'mura in 1614) also fueled the corsair attacks on Spain. Further, Spain was also disliked by several European powers. Thus, we also see Morisco corsairs going into the seas on raids with Dutch and English pirates to attack Spanish ships returning from the New World (Bookin-Weiner, 1992).

The Rabat pirates and their European and North African counterparts did not limit themselves merely to the Moroccan or the Spanish coast. Some went as far as Newfoundland and

England (Bookin-Weiner, 1992). These long distance raids brought another population to Rabat: diplomats from England and Holland who wanted to strike a balance between the Sa'adi Dynasty and the pirates in order to halt raids on their own nations' ships. Some negotiations are informative of the circumstances in Rabat, such as those with John Harrison from England who managed to negotiate immunity of English ships in exchange for English corsair assistance in raiding Spanish ships! Also, not only were European diplomats coming to Rabat, but there is also documentation indicating that the Moriscos had a Morisco diplomat, Muhammad Vanegas, representing the Andalusian Republic of Rabat in The Hague (Busto, 1974:100-101).

Thus, we have a situation where there are Moriscos from Hornachos in the Qasbah who had the capital to invest in outfitting corsair ships (Busto, 1974:63). Below the Qasbah, the Moriscos from various regions in Spain and the other Andalusians built up and established themselves in the Medina of Rabat. The population of the medina contributed the manpower and sailing skill to crew the Hornachero ships. One Rabati Andalusian man with whom I spoke told me that his family today is like the Hornacheros were in the seventeenth century. He was romantically referring to this group of Moriscos in order to stress their cunningness and their wealth, something he sees in abundance in his family. Beyond this Rabati Andalusians comparison, his family

originates from Moriscos from Castile who came to Rabat and settled in the medina. These Castillian Moriscos very likely both manned the Hornachero ships and came into constant conflict with them.

Meanwhile, Sale remained suspicious of the Morisco newcomers and while it is true that some men from Sale partook of the pirate economy, the majority of the corsairs were Rabati Moriscos. When in the popular story of Robinson Crusoe we hear of his capture by the "Sallee Rovers", the truth of the matter is that they were the Rabat Rovers. The name Sallee stuck because many Moroccans and Europeans of the time were referring to Rabat as New Sale, thus confusing its activities with Old Sale (Ricard and Caille, 1947).

The whole period of what is called by Busto (1974) the Independent Andalusian Republic of Rabat, spanning from 1608 to 1664, can be divided into six periods (Bookin-Weiner, 1992). The first is from 1608-1626 and is marked by the arrival, already mentioned above, of the Moriscos and their incorporation into pirate activities which already existed since about 1600 in the Bouregreg river mouth. The second period, from 1626-1629, marks the first stretch of heightened pirate activity among the Moriscos and greater independence from surrounding forces: the Sa'adians and, more locally, the politically ambitious marabout al-'Ayyashi in Sale. The third period is that of civil strife, from 1629-1630, between the three "city-states" of the Bouregreg

area, Salé, the Qasbah of Rabat, and the medina of Rabat. The fourth period, 1630-1635, was a period of heightened conflict between al-'Ayyashi and the corsairs. The fifth period between 1635-1641 marked a period of greater independence and more pirate activity but ended in the final conflict that began the end of the Pirate Republic. The years 1641 to 1664 mark the gradual loss of power in Morisco hands as they fell under another political power, that of the Dilais. In 1664, the Sa'adian Dynasty was overthrown, after it had slowly weakened itself through succession battles, and was replaced by the 'Alawi Dynasty which brought with it stronger centralized rule. Through this centralized power, the Moriscos of Rabat were incorporated into the greater Moroccan political machine.

The history of the relations between the Hornacheros and the other Moriscos in Rabat is a history of brief periods of peace in which corsair activity thrived, and periods of three-way civil war between the two new settlements and the old city of Salé. The periods of strife and civil war marked periods when corsair activity, and its lucrative profits, declined. Bookin-Weiner has correlated that the periods of thriving corsair activity coincided with periods of internal peace as well as significant independence from the central rule of the Moroccan Sultan. Likewise, periods of decline in pirate activity were accompanied by internal strife and increased control from

the central government²⁸.

The relationships between Salé and the Moriscos of the Qasbah and the Moriscos and the Andalusians in the medina wavered between mild cooperation to all out warfare. The pirate trade coupled with the Moriscos' still dubious religious and cultural expression led the people of Sale into several conflicts with their Morisco neighbors. Especially under the influence of the ambitious and powerful marabout, Muhammad al-'Ayyashi, Salé entered into conflict with Rabat. Al-'Ayyashi was a religious leader who also took advantage of the Sa'adian weaknesses and strove to take control of the north and western regions of Morocco. Thus, al-'Ayyashi was against Sa'adian rule and the Moriscos often found themselves, in their nominal independence, balanced between the Sa'adi powers and those of al-'Ayyashi. During this time, in the 1620's, the Moriscos only marginally accepted Sa'adi rule and did not involve themselves in tribal or factional alliances, both common political organizations in Morocco (Bookin-Weiner, 1992:169). This contributed not only to their independence but also to their continued cultural and linguistic distinctiveness. On the other side, al-'Ayyashi used the Moriscos' differences as a political pawn to sway Salé against them.

There are many reasons, beyond the Moriscos' continued appearance as Christian Spaniards (the most prominent

²⁸Bookin-Weiner, 1990:164.

markers being their dress and speech), that kept the people of Sale wary and at time hostile to the newcomers. When it was to his advantage, al-'Ayyashi maintained peaceful ties with the Moriscos. This was often because he sought the advantages and profits that came with the corsairs' activities. Al-'Ayyashi was also interested in the Dutch and English presence in Rabat whose assistance he hoped to gain in attacking the Spanish who still held the port of al-Ma'mura in 1627.

In spite of al-'Ayyashi's attempts at peace between himself and the Moriscos, others from Sale felt hostile toward the Moriscos, especially towards the Moriscos in the Qasbah who were beginning to acquire canon which they strategically pointed at Sale across the river. The canon were also pointed at the river mouth and at the medina of Rabat. The conflict between the medina and the Qasbah arose out of the reluctance of the Moriscos in the Qasbah, mostly from Hornachos, to share their power with the other Moriscos and Andalusians who had been arriving shortly after the Hornacheros arrived in Rabat. Moreover, the numbers of Moriscos and Andalusians from other regions increased after 1627 when word spread of the total independence gained by the Hornachero Moriscos between 1626 and 1629.

The independence and increased corsair fleets of Rabat, between 1626-1629, brought greater raids upon Spanish and French fleets in the Atlantic. Apparently, the English and

Dutch, due to diplomatic agreements between these two European powers and the Rabati corsairs and the Sa'adian Dynasty, were spared. While the Spanish, for unclear reasons, did not react to the corsairs' attacks, the French did. In 1629 French fleets appeared at the Bouregreg river mouth and blockaded not only pirate fleets but also the transport of food supplies from other regions to Rabat, since Rabat had no hinterland at that time (Bookin-Weiner, 1992:172-173). The blockade increased the tension between the Qasbah and the medina. The latter wished for a swift resolution to the blockade but the wealthier Moriscos of the Qasbah continued to hold out as supplies decreased (ibid.:173). Finally, the French blockade was successful and left the corsairs weakened and with fewer ships (ibid.:174).

By 1630 strife between the Moriscos of the Qasbah, still an Hornachero majority with a few Moriscos from San Lucar, Cadiz, and Llerena amongst them (ibid.:174), and the Moriscos and Andalusians of the medina increased. At the same time, strife increased between Sale and the two Rabati Morisco settlements. A truce was negotiated by an outside marabout. Soon after the truce al-'Ayyashi tried to raise the Moriscos against the Sa'adi sultan. While he had some success in this venture, al-'Ayyashi was not a trustworthy ally to the Moriscos (Bookin-Weiner, 1992:175-180). Al-'Ayyashi was continuously dubious of the Moriscos' religious

loyalties, an issue that disturbed his mujahid (freedom fighter, often expressed in religious terms) strategies, especially when he led raids against the Spanish who held several ports on Morocco's Atlantic coast. He became particularly mistrusting of the Moriscos when he learned of their negotiations with the Spanish Crown.

It appears that the Moriscos had told visiting European diplomats that they were Christian and wished to return to their homeland of Spain. For example, the Englishman John Harrison wrote in 1625 that in both Tetouan and Rabat he had spoken to Moriscos who, at the risk of death, professed being of the Christian faith (Bookin-Wiener, 1992:176). Another European, a redemptionist priest from France wrote in 1630 of the Moriscos that, "....the majority of them were still Christians in their souls" (ibid.:176). Later, in 1631, there is evidence that the Moriscos went into negotiations with Spain to hand over the Qasbah to Spain if the Moriscos would be allowed to return to their homeland (ibid.:178). As Bookin-Weiner tells us:

"The Moriscos faced the hostility of their neighbors in Sale and the surrounding Arab tribes, who treated them as Christians...This hostility coupled with their Christian sentiments and desire to return to their former homes in Spain led the Rabatis, particularly the Hornacheros, to enter into negotiations with the Spanish. They wanted to return to Spain and deliver the qasba into Spanish hands. In 1631 the Hornacheros

proposed a treaty to King Felipe [Philip] IV (1621-1665). It envisioned their return to Hornachos, active membership in the Roman Catholic Church (subject to the regulations and judgements of the Inquisition), and return of their children taken from them at the time of their expulsion. They proposed to turn the gasba over to Spain, complete with its artillery and any merchandise in it at the time, and to bring themselves and their possessions to Seville in their corsair ships, which they would turnover to the King for his navy." (1992:178).

After 1629 the Moriscos experienced a time of local political strife and decreased corsair activity. The situation in Rabat had to have been particularly oppressive if the Hornacheros were entering into negotiations with Spain. After all, the Hornacheros were the most dissident group of Moriscos after the rebellious Moriscos of the Alpujjaras of Granada. The Hornacheros, before their expulsion in 1608 were accused of the following: carrying on communications with the Muslims of North Africa and other foreigners; holding secret councils; counterfeiting monies; revolting and disrupting the peace of surrounding Christians; not speaking Castillian well, preferring their own Arabized speech; not taking on the religious faith seriously and practicing their Islamic rites in private; attacking and killing anyone who entered their village; and engaging in banditry (Busto, 1974:38-39). While these were accusations against the Hornacho Moriscos, some of which are fabricated and some of which are true, it is hard to believe

that such a dissident group would seek to return to Spain, unless conditions in Rabat had grown intolerable²⁹.

II. The Rise of the 'Alawi Dynasty and the Rabati Andalusian Republic's Loss of Independence

While the negotiations with Spain continued, they did not result in any action³⁰. By 1635 a time of peace returned to Rabat and Salé and again, there was a brief period of increased corsair activity (Bookin-Wiener, 1992:180). However, by 1636 local and international politics around the Rabat-Salé area erupted once again. In 1641 al-'Ayyashi died and his rule was taken over by the Dilais, members of a religious brotherhood who had come in before al-'Ayyashi's death to assist in his control over Rabat-Sale (Bookin-Weiner, 1992:183). The Dilais remained in control in the region until the onset of 'Alawi rule in 1664. By 1666, an 'Alawi sharif (title of a descendant of the Prophet, which all 'Alawi claim) took command of the

²⁹Busto, discusses in depth, and reproduces, much of the correspondence between the Moriscos in Rabat and representatives of the Spanish Crown in Morocco. What becomes clear from these letters is that the Moriscos were finding it difficult to assimilate, some did not want to, and moreover, their situation as an undesired religious minority persisted, now in a Muslim context (1974:133-161, and 355-464).

³⁰ibid, 1974:133-161 and 178.

Rabat-Salé region and under him an Andalusian, 'Abd al-Qadir Marīnu, was established as Rabat's qa'id (leader). While Rabat lost most of its independence with the ascension of the 'Alawis, it nevertheless remained a corsair center and by 1672 was fully under 'Alawi control (Bookin-Weiner, 1992:188-189). Corsair activity continued out of Rabat, under the 'Alawis, until the 1790's and into the nineteenth century. However, with the growing dominance of European trade, it became imperative to end piracy and enter into official trade relationships with Europe. This period in Moroccan history also marks the beginning of greater and greater Moroccan dependence on Europe, which culminated ultimately into the protectorate control of Morocco by France and Spain in 1912.

Another significant change, under the first 'Alawi sultan Mulay al-Rashid (1664-1672), was the immediate evacuation of the Qasbah of its Morisco residents and their replacement with the sultan's troops whose duty it was to both protect the Moroccan coast from foreign assaults from the ocean as well as to keep the locals in order. Taking the Qasbah out of Morisco hands was also symbolic of their loss of their center of rule and of their absorption into centralized Moroccan rule. Not only did al-Rashid gain political control of Rabat, but he also gained economic control over the corsairs, whose activities he encouraged (Abu-Lughod, 1980:75-76). Nevertheless, Rabat remained on

the periphery of al-Rashid and his successor, Mulay Isma'il's (1672-1727) concerns³¹. Thus, Rabat continued to exist with the population and culture of its originators. The major changes, other than loss of independence, was the increased use of Arabic and the presence of military troops loyal to the 'Alawi sultan in the Qasbah, where they remained isolated from the people of Rabat in the medina below.

Under the Alawi Dynasty, some Rabati Andalusians went into positions of advising and diplomacy for the Sultan, military service, religious education, local governmental administration, or large-scale mercantile trade. Some Moriscos were taken on by the Sultan as official corsairs of the state and they brought in important revenues to the Sultanate by continuing piracy in the Atlantic. Moreover, because the Moriscos continued to have contact with the outside, it is likely that they continued to use their Andalusian-European identity with the outsiders that they contacted, in spite of the fact that they were assimilating more and more politically and linguistically with other Moroccans. It would have been to the Moriscos' advantage to identify as European in order to keep up their contact with

³¹Mulay Isma'il did have a palace constructed in the qasbah (Parker, 1981:84) whose style is defined as Morisco Andalusian, in the local oral history of the inhabitants of the qasbah today. It is probable that when Isma'il commissioned the palace, the builders were Moriscos from the medina.

corsairs from Europe³². Other Moriscos continued the crafts they knew in Spain and carried on Hispano-Muslim styles of music, poetry and calligraphy, cooking, embroidery, wood carving and painting. All these above named skills and crafts are still practiced in Rabat. The most significant aspect of Rabat's absorption into the central government was that it began the process of assimilation of the Moriscos, mostly Spanish-speaking and culturally a blend of past Hispano-Islamic culture and Christian Spanish culture, into a more Moroccan, Arabic, and Islamic culture³³.

III. Rabat During the Eighteenth Century

Throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century Rabat continued to operate, together with Tetouan in the north, as one of Morocco's most important ports, connecting the country to the outer world. By the middle of the eighteenth century, corsair activity began to diminish because of increasing European power over maritime activities along the Moroccan coast. In 1781 the Alawi Sultan Mulay Muhammad ibn 'Abd-Allah ordered all European

³²Based on Mikel de Epalza's text, especially on page 144, this is a very likely possibility: Los Moriscos Antes y Despues de la Expulsion, 1992. Madrid: Editorial Mapfre.

³³Abu-Lughod, 1980:73.

consuls to move to the port of Essouira, far to the south of Rabat. This effort to make Essouira the main Atlantic port reduced Rabat's European population until very few foreigners resided there by the end of the eighteenth century. During approximately the same time Mulay ibn 'Abd-Allah also designated Rabat his second capital, and while his building plans were soon abandoned, the act nevertheless secured Rabat's status as one of the three imperial cities of Morocco, after Fez and Marrakech³⁴. This move also secured Rabat's vitality after the city lost much of its port activities. At the same time, Rabat retained considerable isolation from the outside and this allowed the original culture of the Moriscos and Andalusians to persist, albeit in a more Arabized and Islamic form.

IV. Rabat During the Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the Andalusian identity was still an important one for the city of Rabat. For example, Bujandar, a nineteenth century historian of Rabati origin (though it is not clear if he was also Andalusian) wrote that,

"The people of Rabat are among the prevalent

³⁴ibid, 1980:83-84.

people of Rabat; they are the unsurpassed people of the city, except for the people of Fez and the people of Tetouan. They are unequaled through their pure, noble Andalusian descent from the ancient ancestral line and civilization [of al-Andalus], which is evident from its remains in Rabat and in the people from Rabat. How they are distinct, splendor of the sun, in their knowledge and their letters and their arts and their crafts. And thus it was Rabat and Rabat's people who did not fail to affect men of letters and writers and poets, as to what was [rich] within Rabat of its finest arts and its cleverest commerce, overflowing in the power of action in all these things, and in distinguished houses and great families in splendor..." (Razzuq citing Bujandar, 1989:302-303).

Rabat's population distribution by the mid-nineteenth century consisted of "... Rabati residences of Arab origins, Berber origins,...and those from origins coming from al-Andalus,...and additionally those residences of people from Sudanese origins and those of Jewish origins, and also a few from foreign [mostly English and French] residences." (Fassi, 1989:56). As for the origins of the Jews residing in Rabat between 1830-1912, they come from two possible ancestries. The first Jewish ancestry is from al-Andalus after the 1492 expulsion. These Andalusian Jews first settled in other Moroccan cities and then came to Rabat upon its seventeenth century refounding. The other Jewish ancestry came from Moroccan Jews who lived among the Berbers (and were considered Berbers) until they all came under the central control of the government, at which time they

resettled in Rabat (Fassi gives no date in the nineteenth or early twentieth century for when this occurred, 1989:59).

In the early nineteenth century, during the rule of Sultan Mulay Sulaiman (1793-1822), many Andalusian names appear in the list of influential men of the city along with the non-Andalusian Arab families of Rabat, such as Biris (Perez), Libaris, Ghanam, Alou, al-Qasri, Bargash (Vargas)³⁵, and Dinia (Denia), (Fassi, 1989:87-150). Of additional significance here is the fact that Fassi's writing on the nineteenth and twentieth century history of Rabat also discusses the influential men from Andalusian families with clear reference to their origins from al-Andalus and the continuity of their history as influential Rabatis from the seventeenth century up to 1912, which is the closing date of Fassi's historical study. For instance, Fassi writes about Abd al-Rahman Bargash (a prominent Rabati leader in the nineteenth century) who had "...inherited the profession of piracy (hizrat al-garsanati) from his ancestors who were acknowledged for leadership and command during the expulsion of the Moriscos through their settlement along the Bouregreg river and it was Ibrahim Bargash who was among those who ruled the Andalusian Qasbah [the Qasbah of Rabat, (today referred to as the Qasbah of

³⁵The name Bargash is recognized by Fassi as belonging to one of the founding Morisco families that settled along the Bouregreg river and ruled the city in 1627 from the Qasbah (of the Oudayas).

the Oudayas)] in 1627..." (1989:87). Moreover, Fassi's interpretation of the nature of Rabati influence and politics in the nineteenth century is discussed from its genesis as a seventeenth century city whose inhabitants from Spain were being pulled into other Andalusian circles of influence in Tetouan and Fez, a connection that has persisted to the present day and that has inevitably left many non-Andalusian Moroccans feeling that to have influence in Morocco one must come from Andalusian ancestry (Fassi, 1989:306-311).

Piracy, for the last time, was encouraged in the nineteenth century under Mulay 'Abd al-Rahman's rule (1822-1859). Because of growing European naval powers in the Atlantic, and Morocco's growing economic dependence on Europe, corsair activities out of Rabat were cut short by Austria, whose ships in 1829 had been forced into ports at Larache and Rabat (Abu-Lughod, 1980:88), thus ending Rabati piracy for good. In addition, as economic dependence on Europe grew and more European manufactured goods were being imported in exchange for the export of Moroccan raw materials, Rabat's crafts industry was undermined with European machine-made goods and Rabat's port was further diminished by the heavier use of Casablanca's port for import/export shipping (Abu-Lughod, 1980:89-91).

An important consequence of trade with Europe was the opening of new economic opportunities for Moroccans which

resulted in a changing class structure by the mid- to late-nineteenth century (Abu-Lughod, 1980:96). The presence of Europeans and of new economic activities in Casablanca created a new sphere of competition among the Moroccan bourgeois and some Moroccans were able to break through more traditional class statuses into new more lucrative ones (ibid, 1980:98). It is during this time period, from the 1840's to the 1860's, that Casablanca received an influx of ambitious entrepreneurs from families from Fez and Rabat. Many of the Andalusian families with whom I spoke mentioned the past members of their family who branched out into Casablanca. Today these family branches are still in Casablanca and make up an important proportion of the economically successful people of Casablanca. It could be argued either that the new found wealth of these Rabati and Fassi Andalusian families in Rabat assisted in guaranteeing the continuity of these families as Andalusian, as some Moroccans with whom I spoke suggest, or, that because the successful Fassi and Rabati families are Andalusian that the ethnic affiliation led them to stick together and opened them to opportunities other Moroccans may not have had. I have heard both possible arguments put forward. It does appear that the Andalusian identity does serve in opening some doors and that there may have been certain opportunities because of this identity that were seized upon by members of the Andalusian families who went to Casablanca

to seek their fortunes. It is also possible that increased wealth, such as the capitalist economy that nineteenth century Casablanca made possible, allowed the Rabati Andalusian families the privilege of staying together and not needing to marry outside of their group. Finally, it is also significant that a people who claim an international past and experience with dealing with different European powers, as do the Andalusians from Rabat, Tetouan, and Fez, would be well equipped to reap the opportunities of increased trade relations with Europe.

Nevertheless, it is certain that with the increased immigration to Casablanca, Rabat in the late nineteenth century was not experiencing the changes of growth and immigration that Casablanca was. This fact guaranteed again, in keeping Rabat's inhabitants protected from intense cultural changes that contact with Moroccans from other regions may have initiated. Thus, the opportunity for the preservation of Rabati Andalusian practices was great.

V. Twentieth Century Rabat

In 1912 the French Protectorate was established in Morocco. When plans to make Fez the Protectorate capital failed, Rabat became the next choice because of its coastal location and central access to the other urban centers in

Morocco. Thus, the considerable isolation for the Andalusians of Rabat ended in 1912 when the French set up their protectorate's colonial capital in Rabat. Still, the Andalusians of Rabat continued to live, and be confined, to the medina. In 1937 Brunot wrote that "the Andalusians are settled in one homogeneous mass...", thus confirming oral accounts of the continued isolation of the Andalusians from others even during the social changes taking place during the Protectorate. Since Rabat was the French protectorate capital, diplomats from other countries were also residing there and there were large delegations of Spanish and Portuguese officials living in Rabat. Oral accounts of this time describe the Andalusians of Rabat as interacting a great deal with the Spanish and the Portuguese, who often considered each other as cultural and historical brethren. It was not until 1956, with the end of colonial rule and the beginning of massive migrations to Rabat of Moroccans from all over the country, that the isolation of the Andalusians in the medina of Rabat began to change dramatically³⁶.

When the French left Morocco in 1956 their administrative positions and their residences were taken up by the small group of Moroccan elite, which included Andalusians from Rabat, as well as from Fez and Tetouan.

³⁶This is a facet of Rabat's twentieth century history discussed in Chapter 2, from the perspective of the three Berber merchants who participated in these changes and who were rural southern Moroccan immigrants to Rabat's medina.

The Moroccan elite had in common a more European educational background and were operating successfully within the French administration before independence, indicating both a greater proximity to the foreigners in Rabat and also a higher income level. A strong feature of the Andalusian families of Rabat today is that they pride themselves on their European style of doing things. This "European-ness" is seen as going back to their origins in Spain, yet in the present era it is redirected toward French culture and many Andalusians consider it an easy and natural shift. The success of this "Europeanization" strategy is clear upon observing the high status placed on Moroccan individuals who have French educations and behave in ways that are consistent with European standards of behavior. Nonetheless, these same Andalusian elites also engage in behaviors that are considered classical Moroccan and Arab behaviors which are also based on their Andalusian heritage of classical Arab culture. Thus, the Andalusians can be both modern and European as well as traditional and Arab, thus preserving their status and their identity³⁷.

³⁷It is significant that the identity of being Berber is not a strong part of the Andalusian's identity composition because the Berbers are not as powerful a group in Morocco. There is a general sentiment I found expressed by many Moroccans from diverse backgrounds that Berbers are both romanticized and yet not as respected as Arabs and Europeans. The public debate (casual conversation, newspaper articles, public policy) over the Berber identity and who exactly are the Berbers is a broad and heated debate. It is nonetheless clear that the Berber identity does not carry the same prestige as the aforementioned

In the 1960's Rabat's Medina grew more crowded because of the increased rural immigration into the city. Feeling that the Medina was no longer exclusively Andalusian, many Andalusian families began moving out into surrounding farmland near the city. Today large portions of the farmland have been developed into several suburbs of Rabat. Many Andalusian families, still living near each other, are now leading suburban lives. A few of the wealthier Andalusians have retained their old family homes in the Medina, while they actually reside in the suburbs.

The Andalusians of Rabat have lived through times when their city was intensely engaged with, and occupied by, the outer world, as well as during times of peripheral importance and shrinking economic activity. The persistence of their Spanish style names, the almost exclusively Andalusian make up of their marriage alliances, the Andalusian style of their residences and the non-Andalusian Moroccan acknowledgement of their exclusivity, are all testimony that the Andalusian identity's complexity, based in its broad and international past, has been the tool for contending with changes in their lives.

King Hassan II has begun a policy of cultural pluralism of Morocco and states that the many ethnic and cultural groups come equally under the umbrella of the Moroccan nation. This policy has challenged the Andalusian hegemony

identities.

in small ways, often more for appearance than anything else. At the same time, a large proportion of the King's Council are from Andalusian families and the writing of Moroccan history in recent text books places the Andalusian history and heritage as central to every Moroccan's history and heritage. Finally, in spite of the efforts toward an equal cultural plurality, the Andalusians of Rabat have more in common culturally with the Hnifiin families of the city than with Arabs of rural origins, Berbers, Jews (though, only with the Jews who claim Berber ancestry over Sephardic ancestry: the latter claim great cultural similarity with Muslim Moroccan Andalusians), and Saharan Moroccans, as was the case in Brunot's time (1937:8-13).

VI. Conclusion

In this and the previous chapter, I have presented an argument for the first of four main reasons for the persistence of the Andalusian identity: a strong historical continuity. Through both being culturally and religiously distinct upon arrival, the Moriscos were isolated, a factor that initially aided in the perseverance of their identity. Because the Moriscos were also Andalusians they were connected into a history of great importance to North Africans. Moreover, as time grew distant between the Moriscos' seventeenth century settlement and the stigma of

baptism, they integrated more into the positive perceptions Moroccans held about the ancestry of Andalusians and thus they were ultimately esteemed. Thus, the stage was set for the importance of the Rabati Andalusian identity and its continuity within a rich historical context.

Chapter 5 Micro-Historical, or Intergenerational, Continuity of the Andalusian Identity

I. Introduction

Another facet of the persistence of the Andalusian identity emerges from intergenerational relationships among Moroccans in general and the Andalusian families in particular, which I see as making up the microhistorical dimension of understanding this identity's continuity. Moroccan youths still appear to form much of their identity from their families and from the older members of their community. Peer influence is less pronounced. Among Rabati Andalusians there also is strong communication, connectedness and continuity between youths and elders; a circumstance which accommodates the persistence of a group identity. The greater continuity there is in the relationships between the younger and the older generations, the greater the likelihood is of an identity being transmitted from generation to generation. The strength of the Andalusian identity appears across the span of generations of the Andalusian families that I interviewed. For example, the youngest Andalusian I met was one year old and her grandfather continually referred to her as, "my

little Andalusian". Another young Andalusian I met, a fourteen year old boy, was studying the traditional Andalusian music on the oud, lute, under his father's guidance.

In agreement with the way individual Andalusians experience their identity as Andalusians with each other, Luckman states that, "...the formation of personal identity visits upon shared time with other humans" (1983:89). To be Andalusian means having a common time depth through which people possessing the Andalusian identity share with each other the present, the past, and the future. For a young Moroccan to assume the Andalusian identity as a central personal identity means that that person carries a historical connectedness with all other Andalusians regardless of the time that they lived. This alone is a powerful means through which the imagined world of al-Andalus stays strong in contemporary minds and through which the Andalusian identity continues to have meaning and therefore to persist. As an example, one Muslim Rabati Andalusian man with whom I spoke mentioned that when he meets Sephardic Jews in France or an Andalusian man from Fez with an immigration history distinct from the Moriscos, he nonetheless feels a common identification with them: he believes that because of their common ancestry from Spain they think alike and still share a common culture. This sentiment of identification comes via this man's perception

of a shared historical time with al-Andalus. According to this Rabati Andalusian man, the Sephardic Jews and the Fassi, Rabati, and Tetouani Andalusians are more timeless, or universal, in their daily existence than others who lack the historical identity attachments to Islamic Spain.

The two most outstanding aspects of intergenerational continuity are seen through the Andalusian family names, something which is passed on through endogamous marriages, and the traditional professions that the Andalusians practice. A third area of possible distinction is in the customs practiced in Andalusian homes, however, this area is a difficult one to discern between general Moroccan and specific Andalusian practices as there is significant overlap. There is one exception to this latter point, discussed later in this chapter, and that is the custom of Lilā Kasābah, a purely Andalusian custom and practiced only by the Andalusians of Rabat (Souissi, 1979:159).

II. Identity Persistence through the Generational Continuance of Andalusian Family Names

A. The Names

Guillermo Gozalbes Busto has been a scholar of the Moriscos in Morocco for at least the past four decades and

he also lived in Tetouan for several years and wrote his doctoral thesis on the Moriscos of Rabat. Given all his experience, he has come to understand the nature of the Andalusian identity in Morocco, which he believes draws much of its contemporary legitimacy from the Andalusian family names. On this issue Busto says:

"It is curious to observe, as happens in Morocco, that the [Andalusian and Morisco] families guard the memory of their Hispanic ancestors and, already greatly diminished, the memory of their distant country [Spain], without losing a Christian name, like Torres, Morales, Baeza or Garcia, and while they do not associate these [names] with accompanying [Christian] religious or ethnic [sentiments], they nevertheless distinguish their intimate Islamic sentiment from that of their typical Moroccan expression. Also, they are proud of their origins which, through their Arab patronyms, they remember their Hispanic ancestors. Moreover, some simply take on the name "Andalusi" [from al-Andalus] so generally that it is simply motivated [by the desire] to feel above the rest of other mortals..." (1992:59-60).

Busto accurately exposes the Andalusian names as the information drawn whenever Andalusians and non-Andalusian Moroccans both discuss what has persisted of Andalusian awareness in the present. Names are not wielded as superficial labels but as indicators that what the names represent is so important that Andalusians marry only those whom can continue to carry the name and the heritage. Names are also used, as Busto writes, as a mark of distinction.

Moroccans of all origins with whom I spoke would begin any discussion on the Andalusians with a list of names that are not only Spanish in etymology but also well-known Andalusian families that are known for their exogamous marriage alliances and for their sense of distinction because of the power of romantic imagination any name affiliated with Islamic Spain can evoke among many members of Moroccan society.

There exist many lists of Andalusian family names and among all of them, between 45-60 names overlap enough so as to distinguish the most commonly known and persistent names in the city of Rabat. What follows is a combined list, of the name lists from Brunot (1930), Busto (1992), Razzuq (1989), and Souissi (1979) in addition to oral accounts on names that I received from Andalusian Rabati families. The following names are all of them, not only those that overlap when the lists are compared:

Baina (from Baen, Baena or Bonilla)
Bargash (Vargas in Spain, present)
Bennamar
Bentuja
Blanbou (present)
Piro (Possibly derived from ancient greek, meaning fire, later, in Spanish as a root of words such as "piropo", originally meaning a certain precious stone or brilliant metal (Corominas and Pascual, 1980:564-565), still present)
Berrado (present)
Basir (Vacher in Spain, present)
Berbich, (present)
Belamino (Palamino in Spain, present)
Baris (Perez in Spain, present)
Bayanat (present)
Bunu/Buno (Bueno)
Bin Tahir (Pantoja in Spain, present)

Bin Dahaq
 Bin Duru (present)
 Balsiou (extinct)
 Bizaza (extinct)
 Blanco (assimilated their name to al-Baida, the Arabic for Blanco, White. Present)
 Belafrej (Palafres in Spain. A famous Rabati Andalusian family in the independence movement, present)
 Belarur (extinct)
 Bindiuf (extinct)
 Binmandil (extinct)
 Belfaqih (well-known, present)
 Bingadur (present)
 Binamrou (present)
 Belkahia (well-known, present)
 Kilito (derived from Spanish quilato/a, meaning a person who standardizes the price of precious metals and stones, from quilatar, the verb)
 Takito
 Tamoro (present)
 Al-Tunsi, Al-Tunisi (present)
 Juriu (well-known, present)
 Alhamri (extinct)
 Al-Hadad (present)
 Al-Hafi
 Dinia (from Denia, present)
 Al-Daqaq
 Diaz (present)
 Danun (extinct)
 Al-Dak (extinct, "and there is a street and a learned association with the Al-Dak name." Razzuq, 1989:304)
 Al-Ronda (present)
 Al-Rondi
 Rakik
 Rodiaz (present)
 Zibrou, Zabrou
 Al-Zabdi/al-Zebdi (present, "A number of people from this family pursued many ranks/positions" [Razzuq, 1989:302])
 Al-Zahra (present, I was told that a number of people from this family practice optometry)
 Zatut, Zutut (present)
 Tifur, Taifur (present)
 Krisbu (Crisbo in Spain. Present, though, one Andalusian I interviewed told me that this family recently became extinct.
 Karaksho (present, the "shin" and the "kaf" reversed positions; the name used to be "Karashko". According to Brunot, this comes from the place in Spain, Carrasco)
 Kantharoun (extinct)
 Guedira (From Guedira, a village in the province of Granada,

present)
 Al-Lushi (present)
 Libaris (Perhaps Lopez in Spain, present)
 Lamirou
 Lmalqa (from Malaga)
 Lemddouar (Almodovar)
 Marsil (present, one individual told me that many of this
 family's members were famous for astrology and acted as
 intermediaries in settling disputes.)
 Mulatou
 Molin (present, well known for scholarship and learning)
 Marinu (present, an Andalusian, not from this family, said
 that many Marinu family members were famous for real
 estate development/property administration,
 accounting, labor working, and insurance)
 Mutajanoush (present)
 Moudon (present)
 Al-Maras
 Al-Madur (Almodar in Spain, present)
 Siroun (from Serrano? According to Razzuq, extinct. If this
 does link to Serano, there is a family from Fez, who
 are still present there...but according to Razzuq's
 list of Fez-Andalusian names, there is no Serano (they
 could be from the 15th century expulsion).
 Daka (present)
 Ashur (present)
 Al-Amani (present)
 Abadun (extinct)
 Ghanam (present, they were famous for diplomatic and
 administrative posts.)
 Famarada
 Fashardo/Fishrado
 Florish (Flores in Spain, extinct)
 Fanjirou/Fenjiro (present)
 Al-Qortobi (from Cordoba, present)
 Al-Qistali (Derived from al-Qastilli [El Castillo])
 Al-Qasri (from Caceri, from Caceres, a Cacereno. Etymology
 is most likely from al-qasr (castle, el castillo)
 Qriuon (Carrion in Spain, present)
 Qoriya (Correa in Spain)
 Sabata (Zapata in Spain, present)
 Al-Sansiad (extinct)
 Shklant/Shaklant (present)
 Shintiak (extinct)
 Marino (present)
 Molin (present)
 Zutu/Zut
 Jabron
 Zabro/Zubro/Zibro
 Bilsiou
 Zakik/Zikik/Zukik
 Aztut

The proportion of Rabati Andalusian families to non-Andalusian Rabati families can be seen in Souissi's list of all non-Andalusian Rabati families which contains 220 family names (Souissi, 1979:202-204). From this it is calculated that approximately one out of every four families that have been in Rabat since 300-400 years ago, are Andalusian. All of the Rabati families are aware of the Andalusians as the first families to arrive in the city in the early seventeenth century and as those who built it up from its twelfth century ruins.

The non-Andalusian Moroccan families began arriving shortly after the Morisco settlement of the seventeenth century city. Moroccan migration to Rabat continued during the fifty years of the independent republic of Rabat and thereafter, when the city was absorbed into the 'Alawi dynasty of Morocco. These non-Andalusian families, which are considered Rabati families, are, as Souissi states, named after the "...origins of the ancestral person of the family name...descending from distinguished geographical tribal men such as the Za'ari, the Shawi, and the Saahali." (Ibid, 1979:202). From this statement, Souissi goes on to list the 220 names associated with the old migrations to the city of Rabat. Souissi himself comes from such a family. The Souissi family is a non-Andalusian family that has existed in Rabat for almost as long as the Morisco settlers of Rabat. The Souissi family originally

came from Sous in southern Morocco. Some of the most prominent of the non-Andalusian Rabati family names are: Al-Idrissi, al-Kabbaj, Al-Fasi, al-Regregi, Al-Tazi, Al-Qadri, Ibn Azzuz, Bennani, Berquq, Bujandar, Souissi, and Frej, to mention but a few. Indeed, a few of these names have been mistaken by many Moroccans (mostly Moroccans who do not work in these elite circles) as being Andalusian names, especially al-Tazi, al-Kabbaj, and Bennani. This in itself demonstrates the strong association Moroccans make between the Andalusians and the elite status; even elite non-Andalusian families are being mistaken as Andalusian.

B. Andalusian Family Names and Personalities from Written Historical Sources

The Andalusian Rabati names discussed in this section are among the family names that come up the most in the seventeenth to twentieth century historical records on the personalities of Rabat. Consequently, the following is not a complete record of what is historically documented on the Rabati Andalusian families, nor is it an account of the most famous families. Rather, the following are a few cases of well-known Rabati Andalusian personalities on whom the written sources are available. There are many other well-known families from the list above for whom historical documentation exists but these records were not available

for this study. I had difficulty in gaining access to Rabati Andalusian historical family documents. In some cases, it was known that the documents existed and in other cases I was told the documents for a particular family existed, only to later be told that they did not. I later fortunately learned from two separate incidents with two well-known historians that what I experienced was not unusual. Both these scholars, Europeans who have each spent two to three decades researching the Moriscos in Morocco, have never had the privileged of viewing those historical documents held by the various Andalusian families in the cities of Tetouan and Rabat. Thus, the cases that follow are drawn from three public sources: published copies of lithographed manuscripts¹, published biographies of famous Rabati men², and oral accounts by Rabati Andalusians and other Moroccans about Rabati Andalusian families. Not all the sources are complete and only some list names as a part of an inventory of the influential and learned men of Rabat. In these cases, I have provided all the information that was available.

Many of the positions of the Rabati Andalusians that

¹My main source here is the publication of Muhammad Bujandar's manuscript from 1887, al-Ightibat bi-tarajim i'lam al-Ribat, literally, "the exultation by way of biography of the learned of Rabat".

²Primarily, texts by Souissi (1979), al-Fasi (1987-88), Razzuq (1989), Busto (1954 and 1990), Dinia (1986), and Abd al-Allah (1990).

are listed below are important beyond Rabat, even though at first glance their positions seem only to concern their service in the city alone. As Abu-Lughod points out, given Rabat's position as one of the royal cities of Morocco (Fez and Marrakech are the others), the qā'id (leader) of Rabat is not only the local leader, but must report directly to the Sultan and also assume some of the Sultan's roles when the latter is not present, such as leading the Friday prayer and receiving certain levies and gifts due the Sultan (1980:127-128). That so many members of the following Andalusian families were appointed as qā'ids of Rabat indicates the close position these men had with the Sultan. The positions of qāḍī (judge) and muftī (official expounder of Islamic law), were also appointed by the Sultan held significant influence within both the city and the monarchy (ibid, 129).

(1) Dinia

The Dinia family name's etymology is a nisba derived from the Spanish port city Denia (al-Fassi, 1989:150; and Busto, 1992:75). Denia was also the first Spanish port from which Moriscos were sent to North Africa, in 1609. The Dinia family is a well-founded and well-known family in Rabat and the Dinia family's history in Morocco begins in the seventeenth century and in the refounding of Rabat by

the Moriscos. Today many members of the Dinia family reside in Rabat and are well-educated and engaged in a diverse range of professions which require extensive education, such as scholarship in the humanities and social sciences, engineering, business and upper-level government administration, private entrepreneurial businesses, and education. The Dinia family name comes up frequently in biographical accounts of influential men of the city of Rabat. Razzuq tells us that the Dinia family is from a distinguished house (buyūt al-'alam) from the medina of Rabat (1989:304).

Bujandar's text (1887) mentions seven men from the Dinia family, many of whom were Bujandar's contemporaries. These men are:

(1) Ahmad bin al-Hajj 'Ali Dinia, a muftī, "a deliverer of formal legal opinion" from Islamic law (Wehr, 1976:696), from the nineteenth century of whom Bujandar tells us that his 'family came from the land of al-Andalus and settled in the then uninhabited area of Rabat and became prosperous' (Bujandar, 1887:50). Ahmad bin al-Hajj 'Ali Dinia received his religious training in Fez at the famous Qarawain University (ibid, 1887:51).

(2) Muhammad bin Muhammad Dinia (1887:98).

(3) Muhammad bin 'Ali Dinia was the brother of the scholar Abbas Ahmad Dinia, and the muftī of Rabat. He is credited as a learned scholar by Bujandar (1887:180).

(4) Muhammad bin Ahmad bin 'Ali Dinia, also a learned man of religion, known for his skill as a khātib, orator and preacher (1887:218).

(5) Muhammad bin 'Amr bin Ahmad Dinia, a religious scholar who also studied in Fez at the Qarawain University (1887:232).

(6) Abd al-Razzaq bin 'Amr Dinia, a legal scholar and the brother of the shaikh Abd Allah Dinia. He died in the year 1917 or 1918 (1887:372).

(7) Al-Hajj 'Ali Dinia whose recognition comes from his skill as a poet of muwashshahat poetry, one of the most important forms of Andalusian poetry. He lived until the middle of the nineteenth century (1887:444).

From Dinia's (1986) text on the learned men of influence from the city of Rabat has many entries for men from his family, and they are the following men of letters and influence:

(1) Abu Abd Allah al-Said Muhammad bin Muhammad Dinia al-Andalusi, who was a faqih, jurisprudent and theologian, as well as a sufi (1986:93-94).

(2) Abu al-Hassan Sayyidi al-Hajj 'Ali Ibn al-Faqih al-Said al-Hajj Muhammad Dinia al-Andalusi al-Najar, a poet (1986:155-156).

(3) Abu al-'Abbas al-Said Ahmad Ibn al-Faqih al-Said al-Hajj 'Ali Dinia al-Andalusi al-Najar was a man of letters, deeply admired by Dinia for his accomplishments, not to

mention his lineage. He is particularly praised for his religious training and scholarship and for his skill as a poet, all for which he received the opportunity for public service and recognition. He lived during this century (1986:184-187).

(4) Another faqīh from the Dinia family was Abu al-Fadil Abd al-Latif Ibn al-'Alamat Abi al-Abbas al-Said Ahmad Dinia (1986:233).

(5) Abu Abd Allah bin Ahmad Dinia, 1857 (1986:153-256).

(6) Abu Abd Allah al-Said Muhammad Fataha Ibn al-Faqih al-Ajal al-Adib al-Said al-Hajj 'Ali Dinia al-Andalusi (1986:260).

(7) Abu Muhammad Abd al-Qadir Dinia (1986:269).

(8) Abu al-Safa Abd al-Razzaq Dinia, a faqīh (1986:269).

(9) Abu al-Hassan bin Ahmad Dinia (1986:273).

(10) Al-Majid Abu Bakr Dinia (1986:301-302).

(11) Abu Abd Allah bin Amr Dinia, "He is the dictionary of knowledge.." (1986:306-308).

(12) Al-Muqadim Abu Hafas Dinia (1986:322).

Today, beyond traditional religious and secular scholarship, the Dinia family members also pursue the following professions, to the extent of my knowledge for there is doubtless more than I list here: company directorship, business management, mercantile trade, administration, service on many levels of the monarchy, engineering, entrepreneurial services, gendarme, education,

and accounting.

(2) Bargash

The Bargash family name is derived from the Spanish name Vargas, a very common name in the Spanish-speaking world. A common phonetic change from "v" to "b" and from "s" to "sh" has resulted in the contemporary name of Bargash. It is not clear when the sound shifts occurred. It is most likely to have happened during the linguistic assimilation of the Moriscos in Rabat from Spanish speakers to Arabic speakers. This is supported by the fact that the "v" sound does not exist in Arabic and the "b" is often used as the closest phonetic sound in pronouncing foreign names and words in Arabic. The fifty odd years of the independent pirate republic of Rabat were ridden with ambiguities as to who these Morisco settlers were. It is only after the pirate republic's loss of independence, beginning with the more centralized Alawi dynasty in 1666, that the linguistic assimilation process accelerated. I would argue that the Vargases of Rabat became Bargashes somewhere between the 1620's and the 1700's. This is most probably the case of other families whose names today have been phonetically or lexically Arabized, such as the al-Baida family. Al-Baida means "white" in Arabic and this family was the Blanco family, blanco meaning "white" in Spanish, upon their

arrival in Rabat as Moriscos. Other family names such as Belamino, coming from Palamino, or Luqash, coming from Lucas, went through this same Arabization process. Curiously, there are names today that have persisted in their original Spanish form, such as Diaz, Torres, and Ronda.

Some Andalusians and other Moroccans have argued that the Vargas family was both Spanish and Portuguese, as they originated in the area of old Castile as well as the Portuguese territories bordering old Castile. This speculation about the Bargashes is based entirely on the idea that in Portuguese an "s" at the end of a word or name is pronounced as a "sh". Curiously, one Andalusian Moroccan from Tetouan told me that he grew up hearing that the Bargashes were originally Norwegian, not Spanish or Portuguese! I pressed this person for an explanation and received two. First, I was told, the Bargashes are known for having lighter hair, skin and eye color, like Scandinavians, and more of their offspring are blond than is common among other Moroccans. Second, the Bargashes were prominent in sea trade and shipping (that is, piracy) during the time of the Morisco pirate republic in Rabat. The Moriscos of Rabat formed several alliances with their counterparts from other cultures, especially European pirates from Holland and England. Perhaps, according to my informant, these business alliances with northern Europeans

("Norwegians") forged other alliances and kept the Moriscos, like the Bargashes, looking more European than the surrounding Moroccans. However, there is more to the Bargash name than the phonetic changes after the name appeared in Rabat in the seventeenth century. The Spanish word varga from which vargas is derived, is an ancient word deriving from barga, a word from a celtic dialect that was brought into Iberia during the Celtic migrations around 900 B.C. and 600 B.C. Originally coming from barc, meaning "house of wood", barga means choza, or hut or shack³. This term made its way into many regional Iberian dialects as well as into other linguistic families, such as the Berber dialects and the Maghribi (northwestern African) Arabic dialects⁴. By the twelfth century, A.D., varga was being used as a geographical term to describe any area that was protected, such as an alcove, a cavern, a cabin, and even a mountain pasture⁵.

Souissi mentions four famous Bargashes (1979:206-206). The most renowned, according to Souissi's interpretation, was al-Hajj Abd Allah bin al-Hajj Ali Bargash who was Rabat's qā'id under Mulay Slimane's rule (1793-1822). Al-Hajj 'Ali Bargash is followed in renown by the faqīh,

³Corominas and Pascual, 1980:743-747; and Garcia de Diego, 1989, under the entry "varga").

⁴ibid, 1980:744.

⁵ibid, 1980:744-745.

jurisprudent and theologian, Muhammad Bargash, who died in 1886. Additionally, based on converging dates in Souissi's and al-Fassi's accounts (1989), this was the same Muhammad Bargash who, under Mulay Hassan I, served several diplomatic post in Europe, one of which included his presence in the Congress of Madrid of 1880. While Muhammad Bargash was in Madrid, he went to the Spanish notary and had a formal document notarized as to the Spanish origins of his family. I was shown this original document by one of his descendants. On the first page is a notary seal and a formal statement proclaiming the Bargashes as being from the Vargas family line in Spain. That in 1880 it was important for a Morisco descendant from Rabat to officially claim his origins some 271 years after his family's expulsion from Spain indicates that the memory was not only fresh but that being "Andalusian" was rich with meaning and purpose during Muhammad Bargash's time. Later, Muhammad Bargash's son, al-Saddiq Bargash served as the pasha, a man of high government office, of Rabat, and al-Saddiq Bargash was succeeded in this position by his son al-Hajj Abd al-Rahman Bargash, also a pasha of Rabat and later a pasha of Casablanca (in 1892) and of Essouira (Souissi, 1979:205; Dinia, 1986:211-212; and al-Fassi, 1989:233). Further information on al-Saddiq Bargash comes from al-Fassi's account, which adds that he served Mulay Abd al-Aziz in Tangier from 1900 until 1909, when he returned to Rabat and served the sultanate of Mulay

Abd al-Hafith (ibid).

Al-Fassi also mentions Muhammad Abd al-Rahman Bargash who studied Islamic law in the early nineteenth century at al-Jama' Kabīr in the Suīqat section of the medina in Rabat. He also worked in commerce in Gibraltar, London, and Marseille (1989:231). In 1850 Abd al-Rahman Bargash was appointed to serve the sultan Mulay Abd al-Rahman in Casablanca and later, in 1862 in Tangier. At some time in his career, though al-Fassi lists no date, Muhammad Abd al-Rahman Bargash also served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs (ibid.).

Dinia's text mentions other influential and learned Bargashes. During the late-eighteenth century, around 1797, Abd Allah Bargash was the qā'id of Rabat, where he was also the walī, holy man and benefactor of the city. Abd Allah Bargash also received numerous public recognition from the sultan, Mulay Slimane (Dinia, 1986:129-130). Less than a hundred years later, in 1877, Abu Abd Allah Hajji Bargash was a qāḍī and a faqīh in Rabat (Dinia, 1986:197).

Today, the Bargash family can still boast a large number from their clan in many positions within the government, from the innermost advisory circles of King Hassan II, to many and varied administrative, ministerial, and diplomatic positions. Moreover, as is not unique to only the Bargash family but all other families that have members in the King's service, one person during their

professional lifetime may hold several of the above positions. Today, outside of government service, the Bargash family can also be seen in businesses of varied sizes and services, civil service, scholarship, pharmacy, and military commanding office, to list only those professions of which I am aware.

(3) Karaksho

The Karaksho family name was originally "Karashko", being derived from "Carrasco". At some point after their settlement in Rabat as exiled Moriscos in the seventeenth century, the "k" and the "sh" phonemes switched. It is not clear how long this phonetic shift took place after the Karaksho family's arrival in Rabat. Some texts, like Dinia's (1986), revert to the original name of Karashko in discussing the influential men from this family regardless of when they lived.

Etymologically, carrasca/o is a common word in the romance dialects of the medieval Iberian peninsula. Moreover, the root karr- is derived from a pre-Roman term which is not only persisting in the romance dialects of Iberia but also in Berber as akarrus (Corominas and Pascual, 1980:891). Carrasca is the name of an evergreen oak. Moreover, the derivatives of carrasca , being carrascal and garasgilla are found in two mozarabic documents (documents

produced by Christians living under Muslim rule in Iberia) from 1106 and 1176 A.D. (ibid, 1980:891). Today, in Algeria and Morocco, the terms derived from carrasco, being garrush and gorrish, respectively, are still used to specify a type of tree (ibid, 1980:892).

The first mention of a Karaksho in Dinia's text is of Abu Ya'zi Karashko al-Andalusi al-Rabati. No date is given for when he lived, but Dinia has this to say of him, which expresses a general attitude toward the Karaksho family by other Rabati families: "He was from a good and religion-bound people...the "shin" ["sh"] and the "kaf" ["k"] switched after they came from al-Andalus...and in Rabat this house [the Karaksho's] was famous for learning and diligence and [good] judgement which continues to the present..." (Dinia, 1986:91. Abu Ya'zi Karashko is also mentioned in Bujandar, 1887:272).

Another Karaksho, a qādī of Rabat under Mulay Mustafa's rule in 1743, is al-Qadi Muhammad Karaksho al-Andalusi al-Rabati (Bujandar, 1887:111; and Dinia, 1986:100). Concerning al-Qadi Karashko, Dinia writes that he was, "...the most clear thinking of the learned...the most just...he has not ceased to be forgotten by history." (1986:100). Later, in 1878 we hear of the faqīh Abu Abd Allah Karashko al-Andalusia al-Rabati, who while residing in Rabat also travelled to Fez where he likely both studied and later instructed fiqh, Islamic jurisprudence (ibid.).

Next, Abu Hafis Karashko al-Andalusi is described by Dina as "...among the most important and high among the sufis..." (1986:217), and he goes on to discuss the many religious activities for which Abu Hafis Karashko is renowned, especially as a mystic who was active in the zawiya, sufi brotherhood, of Shaikh Mulay al-Arabi and who had an important leadership role in this brotherhood. Moreover, Abu Hafis Karashko died in 1889 and he is "...buried with grandeur near the tomb of Sidi al-Hajj Abd Allah al-Yaburi (ibid, 1986:217).

It is clear that the Karaksho family is best known for its members' pursuit of religious training and practice and for their training in letters. One member of this family, with whom I was able to speak, was proud of his family's reputation for religious piety and for religious scholarship. It appears that, unlike the Dinias and Bargashes who held repeatedly the role of qā'id, the Karashko family gained public prominence through its role in religious training, practice, and leadership. There is a mosque in Rabat that is named after the Karaksho family of which "Sa construction a ete prise en charge par des grandes familles de Rabat, dans le cadre des extensions des beaux quartiers résidentiels de la ville"⁶.

Today, some but not all of the professions pursued by

⁶Lakhdar and Ducrot, 1991, thirteen pages from the end (this book has no page numbers).

the Karashko family members outside of religious positions are those of business, law, engineering, real estate, architecture, administration, and civil service.

(4) Molin

Another of the frequently mentioned Morisco family names of Rabat, Molin comes from the Austurian (northern Spain) Iberian word molino, meaning mill or grinder, perhaps designating the ancestral profession of this family as that of millers⁷.

Of the six Molin men of influence recorded by Dinia, five were faqīhs and the sixth was a qāḍī. Moreover, five of these men are buried in various zawiyas, sufi brotherhoods, in the city of Rabat. These men are the following: The qāḍī Abu Abbas Molin al-Andalusia who died in 1889; Abu Muhammad Abd al-Salam Molin al-Andalusi who was a faqīh and who died in 1904; the faqīh al-Adel al-Arabi Molin al-Andalusi who died in 1922; the faqīh and katib, scribe, Abu Muhammad Abd Allah Molin al-Andalusi who died in 1925, and who was also called al-Susi, because he immigrated to Sous in the south where it is said some Rabati Andalusian families moved for economic gain (also found in Bujandar,

⁷Garcia de Diego, 1989, under entry for "molin".

1887:389); the faqīh and poet al-Adib Mustafa' Molin al-Rabati who died in 1929 (also mentioned in Bujandar, 1887:338); and lastly, the faqīh al-Said bin Nasr Molin al-Andalusi who died in 1935 (Dinia, 1986:204-206, 214, 219, 263, 272, and 299).

Outside of the traditional pursuit of religious training, the Molin family today has members who are bank directors, civil servants, business entrepreneurs, business directors and managers, lawyers, professors, theater managers, engineers, architects, warehousemen, and clerks.

Finally, there is a mosque in Rabat named after the Molin family, which was constructed, "...au début de la dynastie alaouite, est attribuée à une grande famille r'batie [Rabati] d'origine andalouse"⁸.

(5) al-Qasri

The name al-Qasri is derived from the city of Caceres which in turn comes from the Arabic kasr, meaning castle. It is most likely that the al-Qasri family came from the province of Extremadura and most probably from Caceres or its hinterland.

The al-Qasri family name, like that of the Bargashes, is recorded from the beginning of the Morisco's seventeenth

⁸Lakhdar and Ducrot, 1991, thirteen pages from the end.

century settlement in Rabat. In the year 1630, Abdallah bin Ali al-Qasri became the qā'id (leader, commander) of Rabat's medina. It should be recalled here that during that time there were three independent "city" states in the Rabat-Sale region: the Rabat medina, the Qasbah of Rabat, and the city of Sale on the other bank of the Bouregreg River. During that same year, 1630, Ahmad bin Abd al-Qadir was the qā'id in the Qasbah of Rabat. This was during a time that the Hornacheros were in the Qasbah and al-Qadir was their leader. Al-Qasri was the leader of the other Moriscos in the region who were settled in the medina and in conflict with the Hornacheros (Razzuq, 1989:194). In 1636 al-Qasri led a group that expelled the Hornacheros from the Qasbah and that began a campaign against Sale (Bookin-Weiner, 1992:181-182). He was ultimately overthrown.

During the early quarter of this century, the faqīh and sufi Abu al-Fadil al-Hashimi al-Qasri was an important religious leader in Rabat (Dinia, 1986:291). Bujandar also mentions al-Hashimi and attributes to him the skills of scholar and poet (1887:470). Also, Bujandar mentions one al-Shaikh Hussunat al-Qasri as an influential orator and preacher who was a contemporary of al-Hashimi al-Qasri (1887:289).

(6) al-Zabdi

The Zabdi name, like the Bargash and al-Qasri names, also appears at the beginning of the Morisco settlement in Rabat. Al-Hajj Muhammad al-Zabdi was a member of the parliament/administrative body during the independent republic of Rabat in the seventeenth century. Much later, al-Hajj Muhammad bin al-Tahir was Rabat's qa'id during the year 1845 under the sultan Mulay Abd al-Rahman, and afterwards he became the Moroccan ambassador to France, England, Italy, and Belgium by the sultan Hassan I (Souissi, 1979:205-206).

Abu Abd Allah al-Said Muhammad Ibn al-Hajj Ibrahim al-Zabdi al-Andalusi al-Rabati was a faqih in Rabat. No date is given (Dinia, 1986:91). Two other men of letters and influence in Rabat are listed by Dinia: Abu Abd Allah al-Zabdi, who lived during the nineteenth century and al-Said Al-Arabi al-Zabdi, who lived during the late-eighteenth and early twentieth century. Both these men served in many influential public positions (1986:203 and 213).

While family names serve as an important indication of the meaning and the persistence of the Andalusian identity among Rabati Andalusians, without the meaning of daily practices and professions that reinforce the meanings behind the names, these titles would not carry as strong an appeal for Rabati Andalusians. The next section addresses some of

the daily professional practices that transmit ideas of being Andalusian from generation to generation

III. Identity Persistence through Education and the Pursuit of Traditional Urban and Andalusian Professions in both Public and Domestic Spheres of Activity

A. Traditional Professions among the Andalusians

Like all other successful Moroccan families, Andalusians distribute their younger generations into diverse professions. This not only guarantees the survival of the family if the economy or the politics of the society change, but it also provides the family with diverse specialists working for the interests of preserving that family "dynasty's" name and status (N. Cigar, 1978; A. Hammoudi, (1981, film, "Spanish Muslims); and Waterbury, 1972)⁹. Andalusian families also practice the broad placement of the younger generation into the many professions which both Andalusian elites and non-Andalusian Moroccan elites value as urban and learned professions. This notion of urbanism and learned pursuits is strongly

⁹N. Ciger uses the term "family dynasty" to describe the powerful families of Fez (1978:5).

associated with the urban milieu of al-Andalus and many Andalusian families in the city, while distributing their young into diverse professions, nonetheless have traditionally been known for being specialists in a particular field, all of them requiring extensive education, whether at a university or through a long apprenticeship. Typical professions pursued by Andalusians are: diplomacy and/or governmental service through advising and administration; medicine, modernized large-scale agricultural production; law, both religious and secular; scholarship and teaching in both the sciences and the humanities; music (Andalusian styles); business, both large-scale international and local; and artisanal works, such as woodworking and painting.

As a continuous link to past professional life in al-Andalus, some family names are actually Arabized Spanish terms referring to a profession predominantly practiced in Spain by the ancestors of that family. For example, in considering the origins of the name Juriu, the eldest member of this family could not tell me where the name comes from in the Iberian Peninsula, but it is most likely derived from Jurio and Juro, meaning property law in Spanish. Jurio and juro are derived from jur which means law and power in the medieval Leonese dialect in northern Spain¹⁰. It is possible that the Jurios were legists and perhaps they also

¹⁰Corominas and Pascual, 1980, see under "juro".

originated from the north central region of medieval Leon. Today, the Juriu family is well established in many professions, among them diplomacy, high government service, law, and medicine.

The following cases consider the traditional professional practices of several Rabati Andalusian families.

B. The Case of an Andalusian Woodworker

This case concerns a wood craftsman whom I call Abd al-Razaq, whose profession, perspective and family history reflect many of the points made here about intergenerational continuity.

It was mid-morning when I stepped into one of many woodworking shops in Rabat's medina. The passage into the shop was narrow and the only light was the sunlight that streamed in behind me. Abd al-Razaq, a man in his mid-to-late fifties, came forth and greeted me. We had briefly spoken a week before, when I introduced myself and expressed an interest to learn more about his family history. Abd al-Razaq has striking looks, the quintessential looks of an Andalusian as described to me by other Moroccans. He has very pale skin, grey to blue translucent eyes and a greying hair to match his eye color. During the several times that I spent time with him in his woodworking shop, I

consistently found him to be conservative traditional and soft-spoken. Also, Abd al-Razaq would concentrate intensely in conversation; every word that he spoke was uttered with great consideration. This was particularly true when the subject under discussion was his family life or his family history.

That day Abd al-Razaq was dressed in a traditional jellaba (formal traditional robe-like attire) of grey and white stripes and a gray and white woven prayer cap. He was standing against the backdrop of the colorful wooden trunks and chests of his workshop that were piled up to the ceiling. The week before, and the weeks after this official meeting, Abd al-Razaq was dressed in basic work trousers and a work shirt. This day, standing before such rich aesthetics, I was fully transported into what Abd al-Razaq and many other Andalusians described as their world: traditional, aesthetically rich, and timeless in a mythical sense.

We sat in richly colored traditional Moroccan wedding chairs as we spoke. He told me that the chairs were a Berber style of painting and carving. This did not detract from the fact that woodwork was a tradition in his family and he shifted from the Berber wedding chairs in which we sat and pointed to two Andalusian styles of wooden storage trunks in his shop, piled three feet before us in stacks of four or five all the way up to the ceiling. Indeed, the

whole shop was a labyrinth of wood worked furniture stacked in maze-like passages throughout the expanse of the shop. Abd al-Razaq explained that both styles of trunks were Andalusian, though, they had been slightly modified to appeal to modern European fashions. These modern fashions, he added, are more appealing to Moroccans and foreigners alike. One style of wooden trunk is carved primarily with a woven design around the edges on all sides of the trunk. The other style of trunk is painted in various colors with floral motifs. Both of these styles of trunks are either renovated or made from scratch in Abd al-Razaq's shop. Both of these styles of trunks are preserved in their seventeenth century forms in the seventeenth century palace museum in the Qasbah of the Oudayas.

Abd al-Razaq is from a well-known and well-respected Andalusian family which came from Spain in the seventeenth century, as Moriscos, and settled in Rabat. He is representative of the attributes that many Andalusians and many Moroccans with whom I spoke believe are quintessential Andalusian attributes. For example, Abd al-Razaq practices a traditional profession passed on through his family, and in so doing, he is preserving an Andalusian art. Also, Abd al-Razaq displays tarbiyyah in the clear and considered manner in which he speaks, in the just and considerate manner with which he treats the men who work as apprentices under him, and in the diplomatic and educated way in which

he discusses religion, history, and politics. Finally, Abd al-Razaq is very diplomatic in how he refers to or discusses other Andalusian families. I became aware that this diplomatic manner reflected a concern to protect both his and the other Andalusian families' reputations and also to express an underlying sense of distinction from other Moroccans. When spending time with Abd al-Razaq, I grew aware of the fact that his considered speech and his behavior toward others reflected a dichotomy in his sense of who he is. On the one hand, Abd al-Razaq behaved and believed that he was equal to other Moroccans and that being Andalusian did not make him special. Yet, on the other hand, Abd al-Razaq's behavior reflected a man who felt different than non-Andalusian Moroccans. Indeed, he is an individual who has been influenced by both his Andalusian heritage as well as the specific details of the Rabati Andalusian history. Abd al-Razaq was among the few Andalusians from Rabat who formed defensive notions around his identity as an Arab and a Muslim. He frequently felt that he needed to explain his claim to these two identities and he feared people implying that he was not as devout a Muslim as other Moroccans because of his family's past as Moriscos and as late-comers to the Andalusian past in Morocco.

In addition to the attributes of tarbiyyah, learnedness, and traditional practices, which Abd al-Razaq

possesses, many non-Andalusian Moroccans have added that Andalusians are also wealthy, arrogant and self-absorbed. This is an out-group generalization. This is also not the case for Abd al-Razaq who still lives in a modest home within the medina of Rabat. He has the respect and friendship of many merchants who also work and live in the medina but who are coming from other regions in Morocco and from other backgrounds, whether they are ethnic or class-based differences. It is perhaps because Abd al-Razaq is so well integrated with other Moroccans in the medina that he emphasizes his Arab and Muslim identity over his Andalusian identity. It is significant that, while Abd al-Razaq lacks the attributes of wealth, or the attribute of arrogance often associated with the upper classes in Morocco, he nevertheless possesses a high status because of his Andalusian inheritance coupled with his gentle and egalitarian manners. One jeweller in the medina, who knew the few Andalusian families that lived in the medina, said that people like Abd al-Razaq were not like the other Andalusians who easily took up better and larger residences in Rabat's chic suburbs. This jeweler was pleased that families like Abd al-Razaq's chose to stay in their traditional residence and to accept the new Moroccans who migrated to the city after independence.

Abd al-Razaq could not tell me the name of the first members of his family who set foot in Rabat. During all my

visits with him, he skirted around the issue of the Moriscos' settlement. It is clear that Abd al-Razaq's family was one of the originating Morisco families of Rabat. Several factors point to this fact. First, and most subjectively, Abd al-Razaq was paranoid around the topic of the Moriscos and persistently insisted that his family was always, always, Muslim. This is an important difference between a Rabati Andalusian and Andalusians from Tetouan and Fez. The Andalusians from Tetouan and Fez are a mix of Andalusians coming from earlier pre-conversion immigrations and expulsions out of Spain. The Andalusians who claim their Moroccan origins as beginning in Rabat can only have arrived in the seventeenth century and as Moriscos. Abd al-Razaq still felt the stigma of conversion, even though his family's religious affiliation as Muslims had been firmly established by the mid-seventeenth century. He consequently felt it necessary to press the idea that his family is devout, Arab, and especially Muslim. A second factor pointing to Abd al-Razaq's Morisco origins is in his name. Among the list of Andalusian names, his is purely Spanish, indeed, it is a very popular Spanish name in Spain and Latin America today, and is still passed on unchanged, un-Arabized. Most Andalusian names, in one form or another, have been changed since the families bearing those names were expelled. There are a few exceptions to this pattern, the majority of which are found among the Morisco Andalusian

names in Rabat. This can be explained through the fact that the Moriscos, later called Andalusians, of Rabat, lived in a considerably tight and isolated community for several generations in Rabat. Moreover, the Moriscos arrived in Morocco 117 years after other Andalusian exiles and time has had less of a chance, in an Arabic context, to alter the names. A third and final reason given here, for Abd al-Razaq's Morisco origins, is the fact that his name is one that appears only among references to Andalusians from Rabat and is not found among Andalusian family names in Fez or Tetouan. This is further confirmed by historical documents that referred to this particular surname after 1609 and only in connection with the city of Rabat.

Mohammad Abd al-Krim Krim, a well-known historian of Rabat's history, explained to me that the reason that many Andalusian families have no documents on their families from the seventeenth century is that most Morisco settlers in Rabat were busy with seafaring activities (primarily piracy) and that these economic needs curtailed a broad education of the inhabitants of Rabat. In other words, so many Moriscos were busy with making a living that there was little effort made in learning to read and write. However, some of the Moriscos were literate. Examples of literacy come in two forms: the Spanish letters written to the king of Spain by Moriscos (as mentioned earlier, pleading that they be allowed to return to Spain); and records kept by a few of

the Morisco families that were literate and among the most affluent families. Given this, Abd al-Razaq's family has no record of their early settlement in Rabat. Busto's historical works confirm that Abd al-Razaq's family name was present among the new Morisco settlers in Rabat. However, even later documentation of this family is lacking, and according to Abd al-Razaq, it may have once existed but now has been lost. It should not be surprising in Abd al-Razaq's family's case that there is little written evidence, given that the professed traditional profession of this family is woodworking. Poets, religious men, businessmen, diplomats are more likely candidates for written records on their activities. This should not detract from the fact that in the mind of Abd al-Razaq and his family, there is a real continuity and memory of having been Moriscos and now a part of the Andalusian continuum of families in Morocco. The greatest proof of this continuity is seen in the continuance of a traditional Andalusian craft in the family and the continued marriage alliances with other Andalusian families, particularly with a select three to four other Andalusian families.

C. The Case of an Andalusian Poet and Educator

I was referred to Mustafa by a close family relation of his who is also Andalusian and works as the head of one of

the divisions of the Ministry of External Affairs. This family member told me, when I met him for a discussion of his Andalusian heritage, that Mustafa was the true bearer of family memory in his clan. Mustafa is an octogenarian who, like his younger relative, has served in important diplomatic governmental roles. Indeed, he is among the celebrated Moroccan nationalists who in their youth fought with pen and sword for their nation's independence.

Today Mustafa continues his life-long art of poetry writing and oud playing. His poems, which he stresses are purely Andalusian in style and content, are illuminated with his own paintings of flowers, vines, and birds. Mustafa explained that Andalusian poetry is filled with images of nature and of the longing of the exiled soul for its homeland. I would say that the way in which Mustafa spoke of this poetry is indicative of an exile mentality. For sure, other poetry traditions in Arabic draw profoundly on the metaphorical images wrought from nature. Arabic poetry traditions other than Andalusian also have themes of longing, though these, the mystical traditions, are writing about the longing of the soul for reunion with God. Curiously, as Mustafa represented Andalusian poetry to me, the lost "Paradise" of al-Andalus is more dominant than the longed for Paradise of God. It is important to stress that these are ideas of Andalusian poetry as this one poet, Mustafa, interprets and writes them. Andalusian poetry as a

genre covers a broad range of themes and it is more in its structure of meter and stanza that distinguishes this poetry from other genres.

Mustafa heads an important secondary school in Rabat that, while offering the study of all subjects, focuses particularly on the humanities and arts and consequently draws students with these interests to the school. Upon walking into the main hallway of the school you can see several framed photographs on the walls. Some of the pictures are of students. The most striking photographs are those of Mohammad V, the former king of Morocco, and the current King's father. Standing next to Mohammad V in one photograph, and shaking his hand in another, is Mustafa. In these photographs he is being recognized by the King for both his important role in the nationalist movement as well as his skill as a poet and calligrapher.

In discussing Mustafa's family history and his sense of identity in being Andalusian, I found that Mustafa wanted to draw attention away from the specifics of his family and toward certain romanticized and general images he held of what it meant to be Andalusian. Mustafa spoke of the longing that the older Andalusians, such as he, held for the old world of al-Andalus. He spoke of how some of these older Andalusians will stand at the edge of the sea and look across longingly toward Spain. Mustafa also spoke of the high culture (material culture) of the Andalusians,

recognized widely by the society as a whole. This high culture included those of poetic and musical expressions, calligraphy, clothing and special styles of attire, cuisine, and traditional artisanal crafts. As an example of how Mustafa discusses this material culture, consider Mustafa's discussion of clothing and dress. Mustafa attributes the white jellabas worn in traditional ceremonies to the Andalusians. Mustafa very proudly mentioned that the clean bright white robes worn by Andalusians signify the purity of the heart of the wearer, that is, he implied, the heart of the Andalusians. While non-Andalusian Moroccans told me that this form of expression by Mustafa is outrageous, if these same people were sitting with him and seeing the context from which he spoke, the opposite opinion could be extracted. That is, Mustafa sees the Andalusians as special and sees them as having influenced Moroccan culture as a whole in significant ways, but he does not act as if Andalusians are superior. For Mustafa it is the culture not the genetic inheritance that is special and that is being studied in the schools. Indeed, the pride with which Mustafa discusses the artistic and scholarly accomplishments of his students, who come from diverse Moroccan backgrounds, attests to his open-mindedness.

I met with Mustafa on several occasions, all at his office in the school. On several of these visits we were joined by a Moroccan teacher of English from Sale who

contributed to the discussions and also offered clarification in area where I did not understand the Arabic. As important as the impressions I had of how Mustafa viewed being Andalusian, was the way in which the English teacher, who was not Andalusian, participated. The English teacher told me that the Andalusian culture is very important in Sale and thus he grew up with an awareness of this aspect of Moroccan culture. Moreover, he expressed a great deal of admiration, pride, and affection for who Mustafa is and for what he represents: a nationalist and a gentle and well-educated and accomplished Andalusian.

Thus, though particular details of Mustafa's family were consciously not discussed¹¹, and much of what we did discuss were the safer topics of poetry, music, clothing, crafts, and cooking, nevertheless, the impressions given off

¹¹Mustafa explained that the French took all his private papers, not knowing the difference between a seventeenth century document from a twentieth century ones and not being able to read them in order to see that the older documents were irrelevant to them. Consequently, he no longer has records of his family, from the seventeenth century to the present. Furthermore, Mustafa, like others I interviewed, did not see what relevance discussing contemporary family members' attitudes toward being Andalusian had to do with their history and the persistence of their identity. Moreover, as discussed in chapter 1, I realized as the meetings progressed, that there was little possibility of being introduced to other family members. Mustafa assured me that being Andalusian was still important to the younger generations but that, as the world changes so quickly these days, it is not the only identity that they hold as important.

concerning being Andalusian were very clear, as I have shown above.

Mustafa was the oldest Andalusian with whom I spoke. It is significant that his generation, that which saw independence gained in the youth of their adulthood, speaks more carefully about who they are than subsequent generations, the latter generations feeling more secure in their country's stability.

D. Traditional Andalusian Women's Professions

Concerning the professional opportunities available to women in Andalusian families, there are two significant issues. First, many of the Andalusian women I met, as well as the women I heard about through discussions with their male relatives, had acquired a higher education, often beyond an undergraduate degree. Some of these women were dentists, scholars, and professionals in various businesses. All of these women were proficient in more than two languages. One young woman was being encouraged by her father to consider a PhD, using me as an example, once she finished her undergraduate studies in the humanities. This same young woman was already accomplished in using Arabic, French, English, Spanish, and German. Second, many Andalusians expressed the idea that Andalusian women have more freedom of choice and of movement beyond conventional

female activities available to Moroccan women. From the Andalusian perspective this is explained in two ways: first, Andalusian women are more European culturally and they have always had more opportunities available to them, and second, the opportunities available to Andalusian families, because of their status and wealth, offer both their young men and women professional options beyond the reach of the average Moroccan's. Many Moroccans agree with this latter point: money and status offer the Andalusian women more opportunities. In addition, non-Andalusian Moroccans express the idea that Andalusians value the acquisition of a higher education. One Moroccan man, after stating that he was proud not to be Andalusian, and thus expressing a negative attitude toward Andalusians, felt that Andalusian women had too much freedom and were not respectable women. According to him, Andalusian women had too much mobility in Moroccan society. This man's sentiment reveals the fact that, first, people are generally aware of a difference between the opportunities Andalusian men and women have in Moroccan society, and second, they define the Andalusian's position as having to do with that ethnic group's values rather than the opportunities their status offers them. A young Andalusian woman, responding to this issue, told me that it was true that Andalusian women have been slandered by other Moroccans because they traditionally had more freedom of movement and education. She attributes

this sentiment to non-Andalusian Moroccans' resentment of their own lack of opportunities and she adds that other Moroccans see the differences of opportunities through the differences of cultural values and social behavior. Yet another Andalusian, a generation older than this young Andalusian woman, said that Andalusians are devout Muslims but that they interpret the Islamic idea of modesty of dress for Muslims as not meaning that women must cover their heads; rather, they must simply dress modestly. As a final note, while Andalusian women are seen as having more freedom, modest behavior and the practice of traditional customs are still stressed by the families as being as important as acquiring a good education. These ideas of proper behavior, as well as being educated, are values stressed for both Andalusian men and women. The case of an Andalusian woman who works in one of the main archival libraries in Rabat demonstrates the balance between education and independence with traditional practices and conservative modest behavior. Laila, as I call her here, and I met when I went to use the library facilities where she works as an archivist. She and I had many spontaneous meetings, both within and around the library, when we would talk about not only the Andalusians but also about marriage, being young women, cooking, and the like. Laila was very fond of cooking and once, during Ramadan, she brought me a handkerchief filled with the varieties of sweets that she

believed only Andalusians made for the breaking of the fast at sundown¹².

I learned that Laila was Andalusian during my first visit to the library after she had brought me a few documents about the Andalusians and the history of the city of Rabat. As she placed the documents before me she excitedly asked me to tell her about my research. As I explained, she proudly stated that she comes from two important Andalusian families and uses both her mother's and her father's surnames. It is believed that her mother's family came from the Spanish cities of Malaga and Seville during the final expulsions of 1609. Her mother's family name is not Arabized and is a very common name in Spain. Laila's maternal family is descended from Moriscos and is among the founding families of seventeenth century Rabat. Laila's father's family is an Andalusian family associated with Salé and arrived in Morocco shortly after 1492. (Any Andalusian family from Salé most likely arrived there before the 1609 expulsion because Moriscos arriving in Salé during and after 1609 were not allowed to settle there.) Laila was enthusiastic about her mother's family's Morisco past and

¹²Some of these sweets I could not locate anywhere else. However, two of the five types that Laila brought me were actually very common in other Moroccan homes during the fast breaking. When I brought this latter fact up, Laila explained that other Moroccans got those recipes from Andalusians and that Andalusian cooking is very influential in traditional Moroccan cooking. This issue is discussed more at length in chapter 6.

saw it as a romantic era of independence and assertion of the Moriscos as the most recent bearers of the Andalusian culture that was brought over from Spain. Laila was also enthusiastic about her father's Andalusian past and saw it as being more traditional and unchanged, because his ancestors were not forced to convert when in Spain and rather chose exile before the conversion edict was made. These two family histories, the Rabati Morisco and the Sale Moroccan Andalusian, to Laila complemented each other and helped revive and preserve the spirit of al-Andalus on Moroccan soil. Laila's pride for her family's double Andalusian origins initially stems from the fact that both her parents are Andalusian and stated that this is not unusual: Andalusians tend to marry each other. But Laila's pride also, more deeply, comes from the fact that she has been a part of a privileged society and is aware that because of her Andalusian background, she has grown up exposed to many opportunities and refinements. It was at this point that Laila added, very self consciously as if this is a point of soreness for Andalusian women in Moroccan society, that she and other Andalusian women were very traditional and that while she worked in the library, she was very careful with her behavior and after work would go straight home. Laila also mused about how wonderful it is to go home, where her whole family gathers around and talks and after meals her father plays and sings Andalusian music.

Laila also expressed the desire to run her own household, that is, to get married and be able to stay at home and cook both traditional Andalusian and classical French cuisine, both culinary traditions in which she boasts great proficiency¹³.

Laila made it clear that her job in the library was a natural progression from having finished her university studies but that it was also temporary and would end when she got married. After Laila learned of my research interests, she introduced me to most of the people who worked in her section of the library and explained to me how two of her colleagues were Andalusian and another one was not but had married an Andalusian man and 'could cook Andalusian food as good as any Andalusian'. Of a fourth co-worker to whom I was introduced, Laila said that he, like the latter co-worker, was also not Andalusian but that he was very knowledgeable of Andalusian poetry. And thus it went that Laila showed me the Andalusian connection of all the people who worked with her. In part she did this because of my interests in the Andalusians of Rabat, but in part she also did this because of her pride in being an Andalusian.

¹³When I asked Laila why French cooking was important, she expressed the idea that Andalusian and French cooking were the basic prestigious traditions in Morocco and that any woman worth her weight had to know how to do both. She implied that these two culinary traditions required the most skill to execute and were the most sought after.

It is important to conclude that Laila does represent the idea that Andalusian women are both freer than other Moroccan women, while still being traditional. However, Laila does not represent the only way that Andalusian women balance their professional lives and their traditional domestic lives. There are many Andalusian women who become, for example, dentists, doctors, or scholars and do not stop these activities after marriage. I see their lives being guided and supported by two facts. The first is that many Andalusian women grow up with the same idea as their brothers that they can pursue education and the traditional professions of their family, such as becoming a doctor or a scholar. The second fact is more practical: those Andalusian women who continue their professional lives after marriage have both a large family network and financial affluence to support them and the distributed care of their children, as well as a staff of hired hands to help with cooking and cleaning.

Concerning the practices of the private domain, the Andalusian home, it is largely the women who continue to pass on the traditional domestic Andalusian practices. These practices are most distinctly seen in certain culinary practices, even though much of "Andalusian" cuisine is indistinguishable from what has become known as general Moroccan cookery. Many Moroccans claim Andalusian cuisine as the main influence in today's Moroccan cuisine. Some of

the differences between Andalusian and non-Andalusian Moroccan culinary practices come down to a variation of a couscous dish, a different selection of Ramadan sweets, which are often limited to a total of four types, rather than more (as may be commonly offered by other well-to-do Moroccans), or the preparation of a particular Moroccan dish for a festival day which is a common dish but unique to the Andalusians in its ceremonial use. The other domestic tradition which is distinctly Andalusian, though, the influence is seen in Hnifiin¹⁴ homes as well, is the embroidery. Unlike the embroidery of other cities in Morocco, which is often geometric or arabesque, Rabati embroidery has a distinctive floral patterning which is reminiscent of the floral embroidery on southern Spanish women's mantones, the large floral embroidered shawls. Finally, musical training is another practice that begins in the home, usually taught only to the boys and that is treated as a private family practice. I was told that the Andalusian families that are known for traditionally pursuing Andalusian music could outfit a whole Andalusian orchestra with their family members. These musician families are famous for keeping the Andalusian music alive through their training of the younger generations in the tradition. Even if a young Andalusian boy never performs in public, his knowledge of Andalusian music, whether on the

¹⁴The term hnifiin is defined in chapter 2.

oud (lute) or the rabab (rebab/rebec/violin), is a strong link to the continuity and pride of the family's origins in the Andalusian past. Many Moroccans, in describing an Andalusian whom they knew, would add, '...and he plays Andalusian music...'

In conclusion, the persistent pursuit of certain professions and practices, by both Andalusian men and women in successive generations, not only reinforces the Andalusian value placed on learning and cultivated practices, but also communicates to the younger generations the vitality of the Andalusian identity within their family. This sentiment can only be strengthened by the non-Andalusian Moroccan's awareness, and in some cases envy, of the Andalusians' differences.

E. Lilâ Kasābah: A Custom of the Andalusians of Rabat

As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the customs of the Andalusians of Rabat for the most part are shared and difficult to distinguish from the customs of the other established Moroccan families of Rabat. Moreover, many of these customs, especially those of a religious nature, cannot even be assigned Andalusian cultural influences in that they are too similar to the ceremonies held in other Moroccan homes as well as other Muslim homes in the Arab world, in general. For example, in Rabat the celebrations

around marriage engagements, weddings, circumcisions, and the mastery of Qoranic recitation mastery, are not so different, according to the accounts given of these celebrations in Souissi's text (1979), as to be considered "Andalusian" or even "Rabati" in their origins.

Regrettably, because I was never invited to attend any of these celebrations, any nuances of difference that could be considered of Andalusian or Rabati influence could not be observed. A non-Andalusian Moroccan who attended a Rabati Andalusian wedding told me that only tea and sweets were served and that this is typical of Rabati Andalusian weddings. In contrast, most Moroccan weddings involve a huge dinner feast followed by tea and sweets. While this type of information is best acquired through participation and is not available in written form, Souissi does write about one custom in Rabat that is of Rabati Andalusian in origin: the Lilā Kasābah.

The Lilā Kasābah¹⁵ takes place on the first friday of the month of Rajab (the seventh lunar month of the Muslim calendar) and continues to the following Thursday. It is a women's and children's festivity. As Souissi explains (1979:159):

¹⁵ (لا كسابه). After consulting with several Moroccans and investigating possible etymologies, it is still not clear what Lila Kasabah means. If kasabah is from Arabic, it may refer to ownership, often of cattle or sheep. If kasabah is from Spanish, it may be derived from the verb casar, to marry, in its past participle form, casada, married.

"Lilā Kasābah is among the important customs carried on by the Andalusians. This is a women's gathering where they meet to bring the ceremony from the river valley courtyards over to the front of the tomb of Sayyidi Abd al-Rafi' al-Andalusi...During this time, the young girls go out into this procession dressed in wedding clothes and adorned with the most glorious garments and the most glorious voices. And they are attended also by young boys who are their most important friends and who are dressed in their most beautiful suits of clothes, singing with songs and words that indicate their wishes for marriage, when that time comes. Nevertheless, this practice has already been defunct for some time now."

Given that Souissi states that this ceremony is no longer practiced, does the persistence of the Andalusian identity need to have a continuity of purely Andalusian customs? Obviously, from this case and from the fact that other customs in the city are a blend of traditions and cannot be considered purely Andalusian, the answer is, no. Intergenerational continuity seems to be drawing its force from other sources: close ties with, and pride of, older generations; a rich imagined history of al-Andalus; continued intermarriage with other Andalusian families; continued practice of certain professions; and a continued value of the Andalusian heritage by the Moroccan society, in general. Thus, given these factors, the idea that a particular ethnic group persists because of linguistic,

religious and/or cultural lack of assimilation, cannot hold any longer in that the Andalusians have clearly persisted as a group and yet they are assimilated in all these three areas.

IV. Conclusion

Among the Andalusians with whom I spoke, the younger the family members were the greater the issue of social and cultural change was apparent, as Morocco has been undergoing rapid changes in the last 25 years. For younger Andalusians, as with all young Moroccans, there is a more experimental and changing quality to their identity. This is largely because there are many more roles and positions available to them. Many Rabati Andalusians feel that the Andalusian identity will not diminish or disappear because Moroccans from all levels of society hold the Andalusian heritage as an important part of their national identity. It appears that the Andalusian identity is a complex part of many other identities that are being assumed in the process of modernization and greater urban complexity, such as European, Arab, and Muslim. As Erikson states, identity is not a "'who am I'" sort of question because so much of what a person is depends upon the circumstances of his present society as well as his historical inheritance and how that inheritance is playing itself out in the present...[and]...

"Historical processes...seem vitally related to the demand for identity in each new generation: for to remain vital societies must have at their disposal the energies and loyalties that emerge from the adolescent process: as positive identities are "confirmed", societies are regenerated. Where this process fails in too many individuals, a historical crisis becomes apparent. The study of psychosocial identity thus calls also for an assessment of the hierarchy of positive and negative identity elements present in an individual's stage of life and in his historical era." (1969:61-62). The tarbiyyah, education and upbringing of the younger generation, which contributes to the intergenerational Andalusian identity, is greatly determined by the older generation. In sum, a young Andalusian person grows up with a very Spanish name, with specific attitudes toward where he comes from. This in turn is reinforced, first by parents, and later by the society which values the Andalusian ancestry. Finally, and perhaps more powerful and subtle, are the intergenerational Rabati Andalusian practices which imbue their professions, as well as their cooking, embroidery, music, and household space, with the knowledge of their Iberian origins.

Chapter 6: The Andalusian Identity as a Complex Ethnic Identity

I. Introduction: Complexity Defined and the Significance of Complexity in an Identity's Persistence

This chapter investigates the Rabati Andalusian identity as a "complex identity" . I define the term "complex identity" as a single identity, Andalusian, which possesses many facets and thus can be used in many social circumstances. For example, an identity that is salient in a religious context but has little place in a political or international context is a simple identity compared to an identity that can be a part of religious, political and international spheres of interaction. A complex identity is an identity that offers a more complex self-perception, and consequently a more complex, diverse range of action within that single identity. A complex identity also offers a more flexible range of possible responses to varied circumstances and hence, greater adaptability to change. A complex identity is an identity which continues to give the bearer favorable influence in interactions in a broad range of contexts. That is to say that one can continue to call oneself Andalusian in changing contexts with favorable

results, while a person who calls himself Berber in a local village may choose to call himself a Moroccan in another context and a Muslim in yet another in order to gain the most favorable interaction with another person. In contrast, in these changing contexts in which the Berber finds himself, the Andalusian will continue to call himself Andalusian. One's place in the ethnic stratification and the use of a complex identity are related issues, as will become clearer below. Finally, a complex identity is one that is more likely to be passed on from one generation to the next, provided that the society of which one is a part continues to recognize this identity as part of its own self.

I developed the term "complex identity" out of the realization that the anthropological literature has not explicitly discussed the social reality that some identities are applicable in broader contexts than others and are therefore more complex in their makeup. Influential in developing my idea of complex identity is the work of S. Fiske and S. Tyler, Social Cognition in which multiple identities are discussed. According to Fiske and Tyler, an individual with several identities to which he can refer to in his cognitive inventory of identities is a person with a complex self-perception. Or, in Wallace's terminology, this would be a person with a "complex total identity" (1968:65). Likewise, a person with few identities to refer to in varied

contexts possesses a simple self-perception. My observation is that the anthropological and the social psychological literature does not fully address the complexity, or simplicity, of each single identity within a person's whole set of identities. One anthropologist, Schlomo Deshen, has touched on this facet of identity in his discussion of political and cultural ethnic identity in Israel (Deshen, 1974). Deshen argues that by looking at ethnic phenomena as actions, rather than as abstractions, one can appreciate the diversity of contexts in which a single ethnic identity can be assumed, such as political, marital, cultural, among many. Each identity can potentially be a reservoir for many sub-identities, that is, identities which are defined and derived in relation to the main identity. It is useful to look at the Andalusian identity in this way. The Andalusian identity is found in many diverse contexts and in all the contexts it is called the Andalusian identity, though, in one context it may be expressed as a religious identity and in another context it may have none of its religious expression attached and rather, be expressed as a political identity. In this section of the dissertation the Andalusian identity is explored as a complex identity and it is argued herein that the more complex an identity is the more likely it will persist into subsequent generations.

As mentioned earlier, the quality that makes the Andalusian identity complex is the fact that it is an ethnic

identity. Ethnicity, while being defined as a primordial ancestral identity, is nonetheless something that a person can chose to what degree they want to be¹. Unlike a religious identity where one must be, for example, all Muslim or not Muslim at all, a person can be Andalusian in certain ways and Arab in other ways or even Berber. While being Muslim is an all or nothing identity, ethnic identities possess an ambiguity of degree and individual choice. Such ambiguity can also create a more complex self perception. With such flexibility built into ethnicity, a person can fine-tune their identity to the specifications of any given context. Rosen's research on ways in which Moroccans formulate social relationships with each other shows that the use of ethnic identity, because of the ambiguity it affords and hence the flexibility available to the negotiation of identity, is in common usage by Moroccans. Rosen states that:

"...in...[Morocco]...individuals contract personal ties with other individuals using inherent but not strongly sanctioned ties of common descent or residence as bases upon which dyadic, contractual relations can and must be established" (1984:227).

The Andalusian identity offers many identity attachments

¹B. Spooner, 1985:13. "Ethnicity in Islamic Society?". Unpublished manuscript presented to the Social Anthropology Workshop, Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. 14 November 1985.

from which to draw some aspect of commonality with the person the Andalusian is interacting with. For example, in looking at the elements of religious identity found within the Andalusian identity, compared with a non-Andalusian Moroccan, the former can draw upon Muslim, Jewish, and Christian traditions while still retaining adherence to being Muslim, while non-Andalusian Moroccans can only draw from the Muslim tradition. Thus, while the Andalusians are unquestionably Muslims, the presence of the Jewish and Christian traditions in their heritage gives them a larger repertoire from which to draw when they are interacting with foreigners: a repertoire a non-Andalusian Moroccan cannot draw upon.

A similar case can be made for nisba identity, or, an identity affiliated with one's place of origin. The nisba is a very important identity indicator in Morocco where the first thing people many Moroccans want to know about you is where you are from. While a non-Andalusian Moroccan has a nisba which indicates his town, region and/or tribe of origin, an Andalusian can claim all this, plus the historical and imagined nisbas of being from Spain, al-Andalus, Granada, or another Spanish city or town. Additionally, a few Andalusians also have referred to the nisba of ancestors who were separated from the family that settled in Morocco and consequently settled in other parts of the world, such as northern and Mediterranean Europe and

Latin America. Thus, if an Andalusian from one of these families meets a Brazilian in Rabat, he can elicit the common bond of post-exile origins with that person. This again is an identity repertoire that a non-Andalusian Moroccan lacks.

In the case of the individual's interviewed from the Andalusian families of Rabat, many facets attributed to the Andalusian identity are present and are used. The intent of this chapter to present the many sub-identities which lie at the heart of the one over-arching Andalusian identity and how these many sub-identities link a person to their society and culture in a reciprocal constantly moving exchange. In this spirit, the Andalusian identity is discussed as a cultural learned identity, a religious identity, a national identity, and a transnational identity.

II. The Andalusian Identity as Cultural Learned Identity

The Andalusian identity is frequently referred to by both Andalusians and non-Andalusians as an identity associated with the qualities of tarbiyyah and ḥadārah, which respectively mean, learning/breeding, and civilization. Indeed, there are two terms in Arabic which can mean "culture", the first is ḥadārah and the second is ḥaqāfah. Whenever I used the term ḥaqāfah, the Andalusian individual whom I was interviewing, without being conscious

of the switch, invariably would replace my usage of thaqāfah with the word ḥaḍārah. The reason for this reveals one of the central attributes of the Andalusian identity. Ḥaḍārah means culture, as in civilized or of high culture, while thaqāfah means culture in the anthropological sense of the shared ideas, behaviors, and values of their society. By insisting on using the term ḥaḍārah rather than thaqāfah, the Andalusian Moroccans I spoke with were emphasizing the importance of the Andalusian identity as one associated with civilization and high culture. In this sense, these individuals were also immortalizing the Andalusian identity by connecting it to the past civilization of al-Andalus, on the one hand, and to the classical Moroccan culture valued by contemporary Moroccans, on the other. This is similarly seen in the usage of the term tarbiyyah in discussing the Andalusian identity. Tarbiyyah does not simply mean education. It is the whole process in, and value placed on, being an educated person. Going beyond being well-educated, a person with tarbiyyah is a person of good breeding, civilized manner and well-developed skills for interacting successfully in society. All these qualities of tarbiyyah are embodied in Andalusian Moroccans' descriptions of what it is to be Andalusian. These idealized qualities of tarbiyyah and Andalusian-ness are also the most visible theme in Moroccan public culture. Aspects of the Andalusian identity most closely associated with tarbiyyah are seen in

the professions many Andalusians are trained in, as discussed in chapter 4, and the crafts and skills attributed to the Andalusian civilization which many Andalusian individuals still practice, such as Andalusian music, Andalusian architectural forms, Andalusian culinary practices, poetry, woodcarving and wood painting, and Andalusian styles of embroidery. This is such a strong pattern that a few Moroccan families that are not Andalusian are believed to be so because of their expression of tarbiyyah and ḥadārah. For instance, the Bennani family is thought by many Moroccans to be an Andalusian family. The Bennani family, however, is not, but they are associated with being Andalusian because they are wealthy and urban elites who possess the "cultured" behavior associated with Andalusians. The identification of the Andalusian identity as a learned identity possessing all these attributes is the most valued aspect of the Andalusian heritage to Moroccans as a general rule and it is this aspect of the Andalusian heritage that gives the bearers of the Andalusian identity their widespread prestige. Non-Andalusian Moroccans frequently told me that if the Andalusians did not possess this high-cultured element of their heritage, they could not have become as wealthy and well-placed in the government as they have.

In sum, taking all the complex facets of the Andalusian identity together; as an ethnic, cultured, religious,

national, and transnational identity, the cultured aspects of the identity are necessary for the other aspects to find expression. Moreover, it is this cultured value placed on the Andalusian identity by both Andalusians and non-Andalusian Moroccans that contributed to the identity's survival through several centuries of assimilation into Moroccan society. One of the strongest public statements of the persistence of the Andalusian cultural and learned styles of art and expression was made by the Palestinian artist Kamal Boulata during his tenure as a Fulbright scholar to Morocco in 1992-1993. Boulata was interviewed by the government newspaper Le Matin, where he stated that "Le Maroc est le seul pays du monde arabo-musulman ou la civilisation islamique a atteint son apogee". This statement was placed on the first page of the newspaper. This statement expresses the sentiment that many Moroccans have toward their heritage, much of which is attributed to the Andalusian civilization. Boulata stressed in the article that he was referring strictly to the artistic traditions of Morocco, many of which are Andalusian².

There are two primary public sources of the Andalusian identity as a learned cultured identity: the rich Andalusian material culture which is associated by many Moroccans with the high art of the Moroccan heritage when viewed as a whole; and the Andalusian heritage of poetry and

²Le Matin, January 4, 1993.

music which is associated with classical Arab traditions of literacy and education and which furthermore is expressed by Andalusians not only in music and poetry but by the well-educated members of their families who are in diverse and prestigious positions in the society.

Andalusian material culture is widespread and has many forms of expression and reproduction. Several categories of Andalusian material culture are recognized in Moroccan society: architecture, embroidery, culinary arts, wood-carving and wood-painting, and calligraphy. All these forms of material culture have persisted in Rabat from their Spanish origins four centuries ago. Women reproduce embroidery styles which are floral in design, similar to the designs of Spanish women's shawls. Abu-Lughod noted that the embroidery designs of Rabat more closely resemble the embroidery styles of Spain than they do any neighboring Moroccan traditions (1982:65-66). The continuance of culinary recipes is also in the hands of the women and the traditional dishes of Rabat are renown for their Andalusian flair, even though there is a close resemblance to Moroccan cuisine in general. This latter similarity is explained, by Andalusians, as an indication of the strong influence of Andalusian culture on Moroccan culture in general. In other words, that Andalusian cooking was and continues to be the prevalent influence in what is known more generally as Moroccan cuisine.

A. Music and Poetry

Music and poetry are dealt with together because the poetry most associated with the Andalusian tradition is that of the muwashshahat poetry³ which is sung with Andalusian music. Andalusian music is often a part of official state events. During the televised festivities of the King's slaughtering of a ram on the morning of the Aid al-Kabir, the event was preceded with a prayer and then a music performance for the King by an Andalusian orchestra. On smaller public levels, Andalusian music is used for celebrating such things as a homage for a well-known personality, or for large wedding parties. While Andalusian music is not the only musical tradition to receive public recognition, it nonetheless receives far more formal public attention than any other musical tradition of Morocco. During a week in Cairo sponsored by the national airline Royal Air Maroc, aimed at attracting Arab tourists to Morocco, an Andalusian music concert was given, along with displays of Moroccan handicrafts and fashions, and documentaries on the country. This representation of Morocco to other Arab nations shows that the official representation of Morocco includes Andalusian music and considers this the main classical music tradition above the

³Andalusian lyric poetry.

other traditions⁴.

Every afternoon one can hear and see an Andalusian orchestra perform on television. One Moroccan man from the south, and not from an Andalusian ancestry, told me that the orchestra is broadcast after lunch so that everyone, like the King who has his own private orchestra, can listen to the music and take a nap. He then added jokingly that, "if you want to get the King to fall asleep, just play some Andalusian music". This comment was not directed at the King so much as to express this man's awareness that Andalusian music is very important to Morocco's cultural image. He was not from this tradition and came from a region with its own musical traditions, though these traditions are less broadcast as being a part of the heritage of all Moroccans, the way that Andalusian music is represented. Dwight Reynolds mentions that Andalusian music is being taught all over Morocco, there being sixteen schools in the country. Five to six of these schools are in the south where there is not a tradition of Andalusian music, though it is still being treated as every Moroccan's musical tradition⁵. Moreover, within the Andalusian music circle themselves there is a competition surrounding playing

⁴L'Opinion, February 7, 1993. Other newspaper references to music sometimes referred to another tradition, from the south of Morocco, known as Malhoun music. So, while Andalusian music gets more attention, it is not the only musical tradition to receive recognition.

⁵14 October 1993, personal communication.

the most authentic music of al-Andalus as it is preserved from Granada or Seville, for example. This very competitiveness around authentic Andalusian music is indicative of how important it is to the players, and the listeners, to claim some aspect of the Andalusian identity.

B. Andalusian-Moroccan Architecture

Many Moroccan public buildings are described as being designed along the Andalusian-Maghribi style, a style associated with the classical forms seen in the Giralda tower in Seville, the mosque in Cordoba, and the Alhambra palace in Granada. According to Latham, "If we permit ourselves a panoramic view of those nine hundred years [eighth century to seventeenth century], the phenomenon that is most arresting is the part played by Andalusian elements in the building, development, restoration, or revitalization of towns and cities in Barbary" (1986:202). While Latham's article from which this statement was quoted deals almost exclusively with built structures in Morocco between 1492 and 1610, he nonetheless acknowledges that many of the architectural forms brought over by Andalusian refugees are reproduced in buildings contemporary with the author. For example, Latham discusses the continued reproduction in the twentieth century medina of Rabat of styles of building brought over by the Moriscos (ibid). The city of Rabat is

full of twelfth, seventeenth and twentieth century buildings which demonstrate the persistence of the Andalusian-Maghribi style buildings. The most powerful symbol of Andalusian influence is the mausoleum of Muhammad V in Rabat, which is designed after the architecture of the Alhambra. The Muhammad V Mausoleum is the central symbol of the modern Moroccan nationalism. Outside of Rabat there are many examples also, though, perhaps the most discussed is the new Great Mosque of Hassan II in Casablanca.

Not only do important public buildings in Morocco claim an Andalusian influence, but homes also boast Andalusian designs. Figure 2 in the Appendix shows a general ground plan of what is considered a traditional Rabati Andalusian home. The residents of this home describe their home as having a typical southern Spanish layout in which the home is symmetrically centered around a courtyard and a fountain. The lower level of this home is reserved for receiving guests; one side is for men and one side is for women. The second level of this home is where the daily private activities of the family take place. While the interior of this home is simple, other residences I visited, both of Rabati Andalusians and of other Moroccans residing in Rabat, utilized Andalusian tile and stucco decorative styles in their living rooms. Some of these rooms endeavored to reproduce chambers found in the Alhambra palace complex in Granada. As will be explored later in this chapter, this

aspect of Andalusian material culture is one of the few areas of the Andalusian identity's expression within which a non-Andalusian Moroccan can participate.

C. Andalusian Gardens

Andalusian gardens are held as the most accomplished and aesthetic styles of gardens in Morocco and almost every fancy hotel in Rabat boasts having one, as is clearly seen in the hotel advertisements. The Qasbah of the Oudayas also possesses an Andalusian garden, though, it was cultivated by the French who were using ideas about the layout of an Andalusian garden. Such a garden is in a place closed on all sides by walls, it can be either very large, as is the public Andalusian garden of the Qasbah of the Oudayas, those of the Rabat Hyatt and the Tour Hassan Hotel, or it can be as small as a person's residential courtyard. The garden is characterized by many foot paths and garden beds of varieties of species of flowers, herbs, hibiscus bushes, and fruit trees, especially orange blossom trees. An essential ingredient to this type of garden is running water. The gardens of the Alhambra and Generalife in Granada serve as the prototype for many Andalusian gardens.

The mention of an Andalusian garden by many Moroccans focuses on pleasurable images of ease, civilization, and the beauty of nature, much as images of nature in Andalusian

poetry portray. Even though the French cultivated the Andalusian garden in the Oudayas, modelling it after ideals of the gardens of Islamic Spain, the locals nevertheless are very proud of this garden and it is kept up and used as a place of respite by men and women of all ages. Of interest, I was told that the Andalusian gardens of the Oudayas had a tradition of being a place where women of all ages, with each other or alone, could sit at leisure without being bothered (Something I consistently found to be true).

D. Cuisine

Like architecture, Andalusian cuisine has much in common with Moroccan culinary traditions and it is sometimes difficult to separate Andalusian cuisine from what is referred to as traditional Moroccan cuisine (Waines, 1992:725-738). The principle reasons given for this, by Andalusians and other Moroccans alike, are twofold. First, it is said that Andalusian cuisine, historically the cuisine of the urban bourgeois of both Morocco and al-Andalus, has been the most influential in both preserving itself and in spreading throughout the many regions of Morocco. Second, there was so much mixing in both directions that the elite culinary traditions--and almost all culinary traditions are elitist in that they are a concern of the well-to-do--of both al-Andalus and Morocco were one and the same. Again,

what is important here is that the Andalusian heritage is attributed with a living Moroccan tradition and consequently brings the Andalusian identity into yet another arena of Moroccan popular culture.

Clues to both the pride of the Andalusian tradition in Rabat and the more universal value that the Andalusian tradition holds for most Moroccans are found in culinary guides. Hayat Dinia's La Cuisine Marocaine de Rabat: Un Art et une Tradition carries both of these sentiments. On the inside cover, written by the sponsoring cultural association Ribat al-Fath the reader is told: "Descended from a Rabati family, Hayat Dinia [an Andalusian name derived from the city of Denia near Valencia, Spain] is always interested in the culture of her country and particularly in the culture which is mostly Andalusian, which prevails in Rabat and of which she discloses in this book, concerning the cuisine and the traditions at its foundations". Indeed, Hayat Dinia represents not just the Andalusian culinary tradition in her book, but she herself is a model of Andalusian values: Andalusians are considered well-educated (Hayat Dinia holds a PhD from the University of Paris I, Sorbonne, she was a history and geography teacher and now she works for the Center Development and Urban Planning) and influential (she is an executive member of the cultural association, Association Ribat al-Fath).

To completely communicate the importance of Dinia's

book, in the preface Ahmad Khales, the Secretary General of the Ministry of Employment writes: "The Rabati cuisine pluralizes in effect the very diverse legacies and traditions [of Morocco]: the Andalusian and the African, the Asiatic and the Oriental, the Mediterranean in its multiplicity, in its diversity, and in its fullness of the currents of history, of the mosaics of peoples...This book of Hayat Dinia is all the more serious and credible because its author comes from one of the most honorable learned and well-known families..." (1993:7-8). What Dinia, Khales, and also a French scholar from the colonial period, Jeanne Jouin (1937:327) put forth is true: there is a great multiplicity of culinary traditions in Rabat, as well as in all Moroccan cities. It is very difficult to say that one recipe is purely Andalusian for even one recipe possesses many variations within Rabat, as well as throughout the country. As with clothing styles and architectural styles, what is Andalusian and what is Moroccan in general is a blending of many influences.

Nevertheless, in looking at ritual contexts, there are a few hints as to what are persistent Spanish Andalusian influences in the uses of cuisine. During Ramadan, and on the seventh day after the birth of a child, a special variety of harira, a thick soup, which is a specialty of Rabat, is served. This harira is called harira bu-fortuna, or Father Fortune Soup, fortuna being derived from Spanish

(Jouin, 1937:318; and Dinia, 1992:134 and 139). Another food with a Spanish-derived name is bu-banita, possibly Father Beauty (from the Spanish bonita), which is the name of a dried and seasoned meat dish. Bu-banita is especially prevalent during the celebration Ashura and during Aid al-Kabir (Dinia, 1993:135; and Jouin, 1937:320)¹⁰. Finally, there are two dishes that are exclusively attributed to Andalusian origin. The first dish is bastilla (pastilla), a dish of pigeon or poultry wrapped in layers of filo-style dough and seasoned with sugar and cinnamon. The second dish is a couscous dish in which roasted almonds are placed in the center on top of a bed of couscous, then cooked lamb is placed in a circle around the almonds, and finally, an outer circle of hard boiled eggs that have been soaked in saffron surround the almonds and lamb.

III. The Andalusian Identity as a Religious Identity

Religion is the least influential area of the Andalusian identity, an identity associated with a history of an area considered rather unorthodox where religious adherence was concerned. Both the Almohad and the Almoravid dynasties, which expanded from Morocco into Spain, used as their justification for conquest the decline of orthodox religious practices of the Muslim population of the Iberian peninsula. Curiously, today the Andalusians have been

described by some people as the least traditional, from a religious perspective. One Berber resident in the city of Rabat said that he was proud not to be Andalusian, for 'why would he want to be associated with a non-traditional, Europeanized, un-pious group?'⁶ As an example, this person said that Andalusian women have more freedom to move around and do whatever they please. While he was seeing the possible negative connotations of this idea, an Andalusian woman might respond that she and other women from Andalusian families have had greater opportunities for higher education and for having a say about the direction of their lives. The reality of his claim varies as much as do family attitudes throughout Morocco and to generalize between Andalusians and non-Andalusians on this issue would lead to inaccurate conclusions. What is important here is the fact that a non-Andalusian believes that there are differences between Andalusian women and other Moroccan women. This attitude is not new. When the Moriscos settled in Rabat in the early seventeenth century, a scribe in Salé wrote about the shameless manner with which the Morisca women walked in public, attired in Spanish fashions and without their heads covered (Razzuq, 1989). Through these observations, this scribe was justifying his belief that these Moriscos could not be Muslims, as they claimed to be. In the same way that

⁶Michelle Rein, personal communication, University of Pennsylvania. Fall, 1994.

the scribe in seventeenth century Salé overlooked the fact that these Moriscos were more acculturated to Spanish culture, the modern Berber man referred to above was also overlooking the possibility that because Andalusians have wealth and influence, their children are more likely to be more international in their manners. While these issues are considered secular by some, for many other observers, religion and tradition are closely associated and thus, a person who appears non-traditional also may be construed as non-religious. However, this opinion is misleading as the Andalusians with whom I spoke displayed as wide a range of religious belief and practice as any other Muslim group.

While the religious past, of forced baptism and ambiguous compromises for the Moriscos between the two faiths they were a part of, is no longer common knowledge to the general population of Moroccans, there are in-group and out-group attitudes linked to this stigmatized past. Among the out-group, people often refer to the old families of Rabat as al-muslimun di'l Rabat, Moroccan colloquial Arabic for, "the Muslims of Rabat". Implicit in this statement is that by referring to a Muslim as a Muslim from a certain city, the speaker considers the Muslim being referred to as distinct in his faith and practice. The term "the Muslims of Rabat" was used early in the establishment of the independent pirate republic of Rabat in the seventeenth century.

Today, four centuries later, it is very safe to say that there is no doubt in the minds of Andalusians and of outsiders, that the religious affiliation of the Andalusians is Islam, with the exception of a few Jewish families that have maintained their practice of Judaism and have not converted⁷. No Andalusian living in Morocco today is Christian. Indeed, the issue of being baptized and Christian was often confused for cultural and linguistic differences between the newly settled Moriscos and the Moroccan coregionalists. By 1666 there was complete religious adherence to Islam.

From the above it is clear that the Moriscos quickly assimilated, religiously but not culturally, with their surrounding population. While religious affiliation and loyalty are no longer salient issues among Andalusians, or among outside Moroccan observers, there are artifacts of this past left in the way some of the Andalusians from Rabat speak of religion. For example, in a number of interviews, without my suggesting anything about the distinct stigmatized religious past of the Moriscos, I was told that, 'we are Muslims, we always have been'. This statement was made reflexively, as though it is a built-in response to the family history, socialization, and out-group insinuations (like, "the Muslims of Rabat", still said in jest by some

⁷There are cases of originally Jewish Andalusian families becoming Muslim over time as members of their families married into Muslim Andalusian families.

Moroccans). One Andalusian, Abd al-Razaq⁸, was particularly sensitive to the issue of religious adherence. After we initially discussed the size of his extended family and the names of other Andalusian families still present in Rabat, Abd al-Razaq began to say, without my initiating the subject, "All the Moriscos that came over to Rabat were Muslims. Period." Then, three and a half weeks later I had another interview with Abd al-Razaq and I asked him if there were any written sources on his family's history. He responded that, "There are no written sources or specific memory on my family. This history, it was a long time ago, and there is no memory. We are Muslims and that is enough (Nahnu muslimun wa safi). Our origins are as Arabs and as Muslims. This is what has persisted. It is our past and our modern identity and it is an important part of who we are...They [the Andalusians] stayed in their religion; they never left it." In Goffman's terms of impressions given off, because Abd al-Razaq was not directly addressing my question but reacting to the whole implication of being from a stigmatized past, he was defending his family's religious affiliation. The impression given off seemed to come from his underlying assumption, in the context of discussing his family's past, that he had to say something about religion.

⁸The names used here are not the true names of the people whom I interviewed. I am using common Moroccan first names by way of protecting their privacy, especially because the true names of these individuals are Spanish and therefore distinguishing.

Of relevance, I later learned that Abd al-Razaq's daughter had recently taken up the hijab⁹ and at the same time she had discontinued her studies of a European language that she had been formally studying for a few years. Both actions were seen as being related according to the person who told me about this incident. Abd al-Razaq's daughter's actions and the emphasis Abd al-Razaq put on being Muslim and Arab indicate a conservative religious position within this family and perhaps also a need to make a clear public display of this religious position. This is by no means an exclusively Andalusian attitude and many Moroccan women from all classes are currently making these decisions. What is Andalusian about this case is the fact that Abd al-Razaq was defending his being a Muslim from the beginning, an indication that remnants of the religious stigma of baptism are still present in the memory of this family.

Another Andalusian man, Mustafa, perhaps 25-30 years older than Abd al-Razaq, also spoke strongly of the Moriscos' adherence to Islam, though, Mustafa chose a more nostalgic form of narrative: "Morisco descendants are elegant....[they] dress up in white clothes during festivals... dresses, gowns and bernouses are all white on feast days...compared to doves...the white dress is unique

⁹Hijab is an Arabic term referring to the veiling garments worn by Muslim women. Styles of hijab vary from one Muslim society to the next. In Rabat, the hijab broadly means that a woman wears long and loose-fitting clothes with a scarf on her head covering her hair and hair line.

to Andalusians, it is symbolic, it gives them unity, internal and external purity...it has to do with solidarity....In the Andalusian houses, engraved on the walls there are sayings written, as in the Alhambra, saying, 'There is no Conqueror but God'...this gives beauty to the house and to the spirit...it is spiritual and shows their strong faith that they hold. By writing such things as, "God is great" is like a hint [to themselves] of their oppression when they were expelled from Spain...it is a kind of victory that they made it and this reminds them of that. They still feel the victory...the beauty of their celebrations all point to this past". Finally, Mustafa was concerned about the religious representation of the Andalusians in my dissertation because he wants those who read this to know that, "we are open-minded people".

Finally, a third interview, with Muhammad, reveals yet another religious history of the Morisco past as it is perceived in the present. Muhammad began by saying that his family had some members in the Church in Spain. Then, in the 17th century, after his family settled in Rabat they became a part of the Sa'adian sultans' services and they were a part of the Sa'adi dynasty's zawiya, sufi brotherhood. His point was that his family was always involved in the formal religious institutions of their society. His emphasis was on religious service and he entirely overlooked the implications of being members of the

Catholic Church in one generation and then members of a zawiya in the next (during the seventeenth century)! Continuing to discuss the religious history and practices of his family, Muhammad said that, "Because of the mistake Spain made by expelling the Muslims and burning the books of the Muslims...the civilization, studies, and knowledge were put to an end. From learning to knowledge, gone. The Church would not permit these things." Nevertheless, even today, Muhammad continues to say, "...In their (the Andalusians') room, in the bedroom, the same as the Christians, in the way they use the Bible, we do with the Quran...it is the same tradition. In every room, even the bedroom, there is the Quran. It is rich. The way we do things which are now common abroad, we say they are ours, from the beginning..."

Later, in the context of Muhammad's discussion of the two sides of the research he is conducting on his family's history--the Spanish and the Moroccan--he states that it does not matter to him if one side is Muslim and the other Christian. To him they are both from the same blood line, and that is what is important to him. Muhammad then goes on to say: "But, what is Islam? What is the difference between it and the Christian and the Jewish faiths? There are the five pillars. To the Andalusians' interpretation, two of these pillars are essential, basic, to the religion, and the other three are only if you can afford them. They

are not essential. This is the difference between the Andalusians and the other Muslims, the Arabs...The two essential pillars to Andalusian Muslims are the shahadah (witness to the oneness of God) and prayer. The three other pillars...are fasting, alms giving and pilgrimage [(it is significant that I found most Moroccans' definition of being Muslim in whether a person fasts or not during Ramadan)]. The first two essentials are based on belief and the last three are based on being able to carry out an action. He goes further to say that, "A Muslim may eat pork, if he wishes, but not a Jew. The Jewish faith is a lot harder to follow." A little later in the conversation Muhammad says, "It is not possible to be Arab, European, Asiatic, all in one. But we are all Muslims; this is what we are all unified on. But whether Bosnian, Yugoslavian, Russian, or Andalusian, we have distinct ideas and distinct cultures. In religion alone are our ideas the same. Morocco of today is still like the days of al-Andalus in that it is very open to other religious traditions, Jews and Christians. Jews hold and held important roles in Rabat."

These three cases show that religion has a broad range of meaning for Rabati Andalusians. All three are concerned about being Muslim, yet, they draw on their religious history in al-Andalus and their Morisco past in different ways in order to express their religious sentiment in the present. Abd al-Razaq focuses on the stigmatized past,

Mustafa focuses on the images of Granada and the culture of conquest in al-Andalus, and Muhammad focuses on the ideas of convivencia and the influence of three religious traditions.

Beyond these discussions of religion, past and present, today, many of the Andalusian families have members who are respected religious professionals. Among the city's qā'ids, sufi masters, learned religious scholars and leaders of the city's zawiyas, the following Andalusian names are found: Karashko, Libaris, Walzahra, Tunisi, Amrou, Ben Amrou, Dinia, Marsil, Basir, 'Ashour, Bargash, Mutajanush, Daka, al-Zabdi, al-Qasri, al-Hadad, Sabata, Berbish, al-Guedira, Ghanam, Belamino, Piro, al-Marini, Marin, and Skalanto¹⁰. Many of these families have several influential men whose prominence began several generations in the past and stretched as far back as the seventeenth century¹¹.

If any religious form of expression is attached to al-Andalus it is mostly to the mystical form of expression. Many Andalusians with whom I spoke expressed a strong feeling for sufism. Popular daily journals refer to al-

¹⁰In Majalis al-Inbasat, by Muhammad bin Ali bin Ahmad Dinia al-Rabati. 1986. See the discussion of these names, from this and other sources, in chapter 5.

¹¹Dinia al-Rabati's text goes as far back as the eighteenth century, giving reference to the seventeenth century settlement of the Bargash family, particularly al-Qa'id Abd al-Allah al-Said al-Hajj Ali Bargash al-Andalusi (1986:129). Other sources for these names are in Bujandar (1987) and Krim Krim (1986).

Andalus in discussions of sufism¹². Moreover, the religious brotherhoods of Rabat historically have involved mysticism and the veneration of saints. An Andalusian saint is mentioned by Mercier (1906b). Mercier tells of the story of Aicha Tabernost, who was a woman who lost both her parents, a Berber father and an Andalusian mother from Rabat, when she was a young woman. She fell into impoverished and lowly ways but because of a generous act toward a neighbor's child, God came to her and granted her the ability to bring fertility to sterile women who sought her out (Mercier, 1906b:161-163). How old this story is is not clear, though, it took place after the Morisco settlement of Rabat. When Aicha died, her tomb became a pilgrimage site for people seeking fertility or cures for fevers and consumption.

IV. The Andalusian Identity as a National Identity

An important dimension of identity is, in addition to actual experiences had by the individual and stored for later referral, the imagined nature of the person's world from upon which he draws for identity reference and

¹²For example, in Le Matin, March 12, 1993, an article titled, "Religion: Mohamed Chakor demystifie la société de consommation dans "une approche du soufisme": Le paradis est jeu d'enfants. Un atome d'amour de Dieu vaut plus que cent mille paradis", in which many examples are drawn from Sufism in al-Andalus.

construction¹³. These ideas are drawn from the media, from historical representation (the fact that Andalusians and Moroccans in general collapse the past of Spain into whatever situation that seems to be relevant is a case in point), ideas of the nation and of the society that are projected through word of mouth, TV, radio, printed materials, as well as artistic traditions and how they are perpetuated (such as Andalusian music, poetry, calligraphy, embroidery, food, dress, wood work, and architecture). The imagined world is best seen in the national picture because it is in this context wherein lie the power and prestige to influence what the nation considers a part of its own identity, thus making the imagined world the most effective on this level. In this context, the Andalusians' prestige in the government and in popular culture has an influence on what images of the nation are projected. There are three main sources of the production of the Andalusian heritage as a national identity: the Alawi monarchy, the Moroccan public in general, and the Andalusians. It is the relationship between these three groups that gives the Andalusian identity legitimacy in the national image.

¹³This section on nationalism has been strongly shaped by B. Anderson's ideas in Imagined Communities (1983).

A. The Monarchy

The nation is explicitly represented over and over by the King in two forms: metaphorically as a tree and directly as a nation of both a brilliant past and a progressive present. For example, from King Hassan's recently published memoir, Hassan II: La Memoire d'un Roi, he says, "From the flux of people [in Morocco] we are aware that we belong to Africa while at the same time we are given to breath the air of Europe, in Spain...[Morocco]...resembles a tree whose roots are embedded in the land of Africa and whose branches and leaves stretch up to Europe."¹⁴

The tree as a metaphor of and for the Moroccan nation is an apt symbol, for it represents all the diverse cultural groups which make up Morocco's population. These ethnic groups are: the Shurufat, which are those families who trace their ancestry to the Prophet, the Alawis and Idrissis being the most important of these families; the Fassi's, who are considered the most influential after the Royal family and who are believed to be either descended from Andalusian ancestors or from ninth century refugees from Tunisia, both of whom settled in the city of Fez; the other Andalusian families, mostly from Rabat and Tetouan; all other Arabs;

¹⁴Hassan II: La Memoire d'un Roi, Interviews with Eric Laurent. 1993. Paris:Plon. page 66.

the Berbers; the Jews; and finally, those groups who trace their ancestry to sub-Saharan Africa.

What is interesting about the tree is that the groups which have more prestige in Morocco are those that metaphorically are located on the upward reaching branches: the groups from Arab and European ancestry. These groups are also more mobile and considered more international by virtue of their heritages, just as a tree's branches can move and extend in the wind. The less prestigious groups in Morocco are similarly represented in metaphor, this time, by the roots of the tree. The symbol is again very appropriate, for like roots, the Berber and sub-Saharan identities are associated with a specific locale and are also less fluid in international settings.

Concerning the representation of Morocco as having a noble past and a modern present in less metaphorical language, the following passage is a commonly communicated idea by the King to the Moroccan public:

"We are committed to keeping our country faithful to its history, firm in its integrity, and rooted in its identity, while at the same time following the policy of opening out which has marked and characterized its history.

"On the foundation of this duality of Morocco both ancestral and modern, we can build a Morocco which reflects in all its brilliance the image of its authentic past, while adapting itself perfectly to that which is modern, and combining harmoniously the advantages of the past with the benefits of the present. Thus we shall secure the path

to the future which we wish to follow,
guaranteeing us a chosen place among those
nations who control progress and modern
civilization. This alone allows us to remain
faithful to and pursue our historic march,
the present bearing witness to the value of
the past¹⁵."

In addition to the King, other members of the Alawi family address the national image, most frequently in the government supported newspaper Le Matin. For example, Ahmad Alawi wrote an editorial on Moroccan nationalism in May of 1993 that, "We are...proud of our national movement. We know that in our veins circulates a noble blood, that of Arabs and of Berbers who have formed a great people whose action has contributed to a great extent to enlighten and to guide Europe into her progression toward modern civilization...We recollect too the brilliant Muslim civilization [Al-Andalus] which, while Europe was plunged into the obscurities of ignorance and into anarchy, illuminated all the East and all the West from Baghdad to Cordoba."¹⁶

Within the Monarchy's references to the past of Islamic Spain, there is the assumption that the Andalusian

¹⁵Reproduced from the King's address to the Second National Symposium on Moroccan Culture in Fez, 30 November 1990. The first page in Zillij: The Art of Moroccan ceramics, J. Hedgecoe and S. Samar Dambiyi, eds., 1992, Reading, UK: Garnet Publishing Limited.

¹⁶8 May 1993. "Nous Nationalisme", by Moulay Ahmed Alawi.

civilization is among the most civilized and learned of heritages in Morocco and is second only to the Shurufat identity, which is the most important identity of the Moroccan nation and of the Alawi Dynasty. The single most important virtue of the Andalusian identity is that it can illicit images of being European, Arab, Berber, and African all within one identity. Because of this the Andalusian identity is often an important part of the national identity because it can encompass not only all the historical influences which have passed through Morocco but also all the contemporary influences in which Morocco as a modern nation is engaged. When J. Friedman writes that, "the discourse of history as well as of myth is simultaneously a discourse of identity; it consists of attributing a meaningful past to a structured present...", he is describing a process of which the King and the Moroccan elites are fully aware and actively engaged (1992:194).

However, it is not only the references the Monarchy makes to al-Andalus which gives the Andalusian identity its prestige: there is also the fact that many Andalusians comprise the inner advisory circles of the King. Tessler's article on the Moroccan elite discusses at length the men who are at the core of the King's political circles of influence (1982). Tessler writes that there are four circles of political and national influence. The innermost is the King. The circle around him is composed of a small

number of national elite. The third circle is of the general elite, whose entry into politics come from more varied paths than those of the national elite. And finally, the fourth circle of local and rural sub-elites¹⁷.

Tessler then describes the characteristics of the men who comprise these different circles. The Andalusians of Morocco, those men who come from Andalusian families in Fez, Rabat, and Tetouan, fit the descriptions of the men in the second circle, the circle of national elites and the circle closest to the King. These are men who form a privileged club and whose power and influence are kept within their circles. They are a very homogeneous group of men, sharing similar origins and educational training.

Characteristics that describe the position of these Moroccan elites are, "...political leadership, economic dominance, and privileged origin"¹⁸. The Andalusian identity historically and currently, possesses all three of these qualities of elite status in Morocco, though, not all elites are Andalusian. All elites in the innermost circle of the King however claim Arab descent over Berber. If there are any leading men from Berber origins, they have since been Arabized: a feature of the origin-consciousness of the elite circle. The top elite of Morocco are also urbanized individuals. The Andalusians are also a group of

¹⁷M. Tessler, 1982:37-38.

¹⁸ibid, 1982:38.

Moroccans whose heritage is an urban tradition. The cities have traditionally been the centers of learning and of craft specialization. As Tessler states, concerning all elite, "The status and influence of the bourgeoisie in these urban centers derives from three factors: economic prosperity associated with commerce, handicrafts, and later landholding; service in the administration of the Alawite dynasty, prior to the establishment of the Protectorate in 1912; and religious importance based on descent from the Prophet and the provision of the ulama"¹⁹. The Andalusians whom I interviewed were either engaged in commercial endeavors, both large scale import-export businesses as well as the production of traditional hand crafts. Many of the Andalusians I interviewed were landowners or had older members in their families who owned significant land, both in the medina where their ancestral home was located and in the countryside where suburban areas are being built up and expanded. Also, one of the principle Andalusian occupations, today as well as when the Andalusian Moriscos first came to Rabat in the seventeenth century, is service in the central government and loyalty to the Alawite king. Within the same family one can find Andalusians working in big business, traditional artisanal production and administrative and diplomatic service for the king. Finally, the element of religion is important though not as

¹⁹ibid, 1982:39.

central to the Andalusians because none of these families lays legitimate claim to shurufat status as other elite families in their circles may.

B. The Moroccan Public: People and Symbols

Next, the Moroccan public, both people and symbols, projects the importance of the Andalusian identity as a national identity. An anecdote which illustrates what being Andalusian is, in the general national context in Morocco, comes from an experience told to me by Donna Lee Bowen, a scholar who has worked for several years in Morocco²⁰. In the mid-seventies Bowen was travelling through a southern town in Morocco where she ran into a Moroccan friend, whose father was the local qā'id, leader, of the town. He informed her that since they last spoke he had become a politician and was now a member of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. He invited her to dinner where she met a friend of his. These two men were campaigning for a new political party. When Bowen asked what the platform of the new party would be, her friend responded, "To return Morocco to the Moroccans". Bowen responded in saying that Morocco is now in the hands of the Moroccans, to which he said, "no, I mean

²⁰Dr. Donna Lee Bowen, personal communication, 12 May 1993, Rabat, Morocco. She is currently at the Department of Political Science at Brigham Young University, and the Associate Director of the Women's Research Institute.

to give Morocco back to the Moroccans and out of the hands of the 'Spanish'. Bowen then said that the Spanish had left with the French following Independence in 1956. Her friend responded with "No, I mean the Spanish who came here in the fifteenth century". What her friend was referring to here was the fact that Morocco's court politics was, and still is, firmly in the hands of Andalusian Moroccans who form the core of the King's council.

This anecdote represents the frequently expressed sentiment that non-Andalusian Moroccans at once admire and resent the power and influence of Andalusian Moroccans. They admire Andalusians because they are descended from Islamic Spain, which signifies learning and civilization. For example, a mother and daughter from a lower class background from Tangier, whom I interviewed, told me that "...the Andalusians of Morocco are both distinct from the rest of us and at the same time important to all of us." This mother and daughter went on to explain that the Andalusians hold important social positions and culturally represent the classical heritage of Morocco, being predominantly Andalusian and Arab. On the other hand, many non-Andalusian Moroccans resent Andalusians because their ancestry affords them special privileges and high status. The Andalusians of Morocco know the value of their Andalusian identity and use it well to secure high, stable positions in the society. An important part of their

ability to do this, however, comes from the non-Andalusian Moroccans. While the attitude of non-Andalusian Moroccans toward Andalusian Moroccans is a mixed one of both admiration for what they represent to Moroccan civilization, and resentment and impatience with their supposed self-importance, many Moroccans would nonetheless like to possess the attributes of an Andalusian. It would be difficult for many ambitious Moroccans to marry into Andalusian families, which still largely marry each other. There is nonetheless another way for a non-Andalusian Moroccan to partake of the aura of the Andalusian identity and that is to consume the material culture for which Andalusians and their heritage are credited. This material culture is indeed a significant part of the symbols of public culture and of the nation. Public symbols of Morocco's Andalusian identity are plentiful and varied in the contexts within which they are found. Streets, neighborhoods, restaurants and hotels have names which include Al-Andalus. One upwardly mobile Moroccan built a reproduction of a room from the Alhambra, Granada's Moorish palace, as his living room. Magazines and newspapers frequently print essays which draw on the multiple historical allusions present in the Andalusian heritage. Daily journals regularly print Andalusian poetry. Comic books, standard history texts and political and biographical texts draw on the rich Andalusian heritage to make their multifaceted points. Every afternoon an

Andalusian orchestra performs on television. There are also many public buildings designed along the Moroccan-Andalusian traditional styles. Among the most conspicuous buildings are those that draw on the Andalusian architectural style as a statement of Morocco's national identity. Two buildings in particular, mentioned earlier in this chapter, do this: the mausoleum of the current king's father, Mohammed V, in Rabat and the new mosque patronized by the current king, Hassan II, in Casablanca. Both buildings have been described as nationally important and as designed to adhere to the styles of the Andalusian heritage²¹.

C. The Andalusians: Andalusian Nationalists

The perspective so far has focused on how the King and how Moroccans in general engage the Andalusian identity as a national identity. The process is nonetheless reinforced from both outside the Andalusian group as well as from within. Many Andalusian names are found in the nationalist movement, names which to this day are revered for having greatly assisted in the independence of the Moroccan people from the Spanish and the French. The most famous

²¹"A la mayor gloria de dios". In Cambio 16, 20 September 1993. No.1.139. Pp.54-56. On page 55 reference is made to the "Moroccan-Andalusian" tradition that the architecture and the interior decor of the mosque represent. Also, see de Epalze for detailed discussions of the Andalusian inspiration of the Muhammad V Mausoleum in Rabat.

nationalist Andalusian names are Allal al-Fassi, Muhammad Dawud, Ahmad Belafraj, and Ahmad Bannani²². The following case of an Andalusian man is exemplary of the general attitudes expressed among Andalusian Moroccans who are from the elite families which are in the service of the King.

Muhammad is an Andalusian and a historian. At one time he was involved in commerce. Many of the men in his family have worked in the service of the King, especially in diplomatic and advisory roles. Mohammed's family came from Castile, the north central region of Spain, in 1610. His family name is Spanish in etymology, bearing only minor phonetic changes in going from a Spanish-speaking context to an Arabic context. Mohammed's family name is both a famous name in Morocco today and it is also a very common name, in its Spanish form, in contemporary Spain. Mohammed's ancestors were among the Muslims who lived in Castile as Muslims under Christian rule, known as Mudejars, during the period that the Kingdom of Granada in the south of Spain was still in Muslim hands. Therefore, Mohammed's family was accustomed to Christian Spanish culture and was most likely more assimilated to those ways than were their Muslim counterparts in Granada before Granada's fall in 1492. Mohammed told me that between 1492 and 1609 his ancestors, who in this time period had become Moriscos, were

²²Abdallah Laroui. 1980:9. Les origines sociales et culturelles du nationalisme marocain (1830-1912). Paris: Francois Maspero.

well established and successful in Castillian society. Some of his ancestors were in the service of the Catholic King. One ancestor was a bishop, thus placing a Morisco in one of the highest offices possible within the Church in Spain. Mohammed's family's occupational history is known from the medieval period in Spain and demonstrates a continuity of occupational roles up to the present time in Morocco. Past members of his family were councilors, advisors, and diplomats to the throne, first the Spanish throne and later, and after their expulsion, the Moroccan throne. Documents from the past two centuries make ample references to Muhammad's family members in offices of ga'id, diplomat, courtier, religious leader, administrator, jurispudent. Given generations of these occupational backgrounds within one family, Mohammed claims that diplomatic speech and cross-cultural comprehension are well-developed skills in his family.

Mohammed's family is today, as in the past, among the most famous and well-to-do families of the Moroccan urban elite. Mohammed sees the Andalusian families of Rabat as a distinct group, distinct from other Moroccans both in physical appearance and in cultural manner. In his own words he says that Andalusians' "...ideas are a little European, Cartesian. We're from the bourgeoisie. Our thoughts are not the thoughts of other people of Morocco. Our ideas are not within the heads of non-Andalusians. We

do not share the same industry, we do not agree, we do not mesh. My family is in politics, with the Monarchy. We are like the [first Moriscos] who settled in the Qasbah of Rabat. We have money. We have jāh (rank). We have these things so we are not like the others. It is in our blood, under our skin. We are khair (good). We have good akhlag (character). Also, we worked with foreigners, Germans, French, Italians, English, etc., because we know how to talk with them, that is, we can go across boundaries, be diplomatic, appreciate different cultures...Our family was great in al-Andalus. They were in the Church, they were in the army, they were always with the government of Spain....Our blood, our government, we saw as the best, better than others, the descendants of our family joined other Andalusians,...we married them again and again...we have tarbiyyah (learning/breeding). "To have tarbiyyah is to be sharif (honorable), is to love the nation, is to have love for religion, to have all this, that is what it is to have tarbiyyah. And to be lacking in tarbiyyah is to be lacking in all these things. This is the difference...We live securely, we do not fear life because we take charge and do well." "We are the urban elite of the society." Clearly, Mohammed expresses the idea that he and other Andalusians are well-suited to their position in Moroccan society.

In conclusion, the central source of legitimacy of both

the imagined and the experienced nation is its people and how they organize the daily reality of being a part of the nation. Who they are and what they collectively consider important also directs the process of nation imaging. It can be argued that certain images, based on the collective historical, social and cultural heritage of a nation, receive more expression and projection than other images from the same heritage. It is argued here, using the case of the Andalusian identity of Morocco, that those images of the nation which are chosen from the collective pool are determined by their hierarchical location on a scale of ethnic stratification. The ethnic groups of a nation which possess attributes that are desired by more people in the nation, as well as those ethnic identities that have a greater fluidity in an international context, are expressed more in the public culture and are therefore more frequently used in defining the nation than are the ethnic groups with less commonly desired attributes.

V. The Andalusian Identity as a Transnational Identity

A postcard for sale in the streets and shops of Rabat shows a cartoon sketch of a man walking out of an ancient gate of a Moroccan city toward the beach, wearing only swimming trunks and a Fez hat, carrying a towel and an ice cream cone, accompanied by the caption, "C'est l'Orient,

c'est l'Occident, c'est le Maroc!". This is a popular rendition of a widespread sentiment among Moroccans that they are both from the east and from the west. The most famous expression of this, already discussed in the previous section, is King Hassan II's speech, *The Tree*²³. This saying refers to a nation founded in both a transnational past and a transnational present. Transnationalism is not a recent phenomenon for Moroccans whose history and culture carry the influences of the Arab, African and European peoples that have passed through this northwesternmost African nation.

Rabat today is the seat of the Monarch and the capitol of Morocco. Because of its role in national administrative affairs, Rabat brings in many people from all over Morocco for employment in the administrative bureaucracy. It also attracts people for mercantile activities and people seeking urban labor employment with the hope of greater opportunities than those found in the countryside. Rabat is the center for diplomatic missions in the country and accommodates embassies from all over the world. Also, because of the city's high standard of living, for foreigners with modest to greater means, it is also a center

²³Reiterated briefly, he says that 'Morocco is like a tree with its roots in Africa and its branches in Europe'. See Hassan II, *La Memoire d'un Roi*, page 66, written from interviews with Eric Laurent. 1993 Paris:Plon, and "The Tree" in The Challenge: The Memoirs of king Hassan II of Morocco. Pp.169-177. Translated by Anthony Rhodes. 1978. Paris: Editions Albin Michel.

for expatriate life, giving a home to individuals from France, the United States, and Spain, among others. (There is also a large Polish expatriate community in Rabat.) In addition, Rabat is not a very large city. The largest recent estimate of the city's population rests at one million people. This combination of small population and broad cultural diversity makes the transnational nature of Rabat strongly felt. The Andalusians of Rabat, as the city's cultural elite, have a broad range of identity options held within the identity of being Andalusian that offer flexibility and negotiability of who they are within the global forces that pass through Rabat.

Globally, the Andalusians of Rabat see themselves as naturally predisposed to be well adapted to the transnational nature of late twentieth century life. They consider themselves more European than other Moroccans while also descending from the Arab conquerors of the Iberian Peninsula. Andalusians appeal both to their ties to European culture and to classical Arab culture (while rarely mentioning the Berber and African aspects of Moroccan culture). Their identification with Spain often translates into a more general identification with being European, which, in turn, given today's high status associated with French culture in Morocco, is license to construe oneself as more French than other Moroccans, thus allowing the Andalusians a more current genealogical connection to

Europe. Globally also, because of the romancing of Al-Andalus among not only Moroccans but Arabs, Muslims, and Middle Easterners in general, Andalusian descendants are given a special status in the Arab world. Al-Andalus is a place and a time that lives eternally in the minds of many Muslims in the regions which in medieval times had cultural contact with Islamic Spain: from North Africa to the area of modern-day Pakistan. One can say that al-Andalus is an imagined community that needs no geographical or temporal boundaries for its persistence as a living entity for many Muslims. Southern Spain receives thousands of Muslim tourists coming to visit the famous sites of Seville, Cordoba and especially Granada. Many Muslim travellers with whom I have met in Spain have described, independently, their trip to Spain as an important cultural and spiritual pilgrimage. Many novels from Arab writers make references to al-Andalus or use al-Andalus as a contextual backdrop for some of their stories, both historical and contemporarily placed²⁴. This consequently gives Andalusians

²⁴For example, Amin Maalouf's Leo l'Africain; Tahar Benjelloun's The Sand Child, where his protagonist hides in the Alhambra after tourist hours are over in order to spend a night in the gardens and there he experiences visions relevant to the meaning of the place where he is (1989); Jamila Lahlou's Le Luth Brise des Omayyades, which is an historical novel taking place in Cordoba; Dounia Charaf's L'Esclave d'Amrus, Amrus being an Andalusian man living in Morocco. The time frame of this novel is this century. Finally, there is Mourad Khiredine's novel Nadir, ou la transhumance de l'être which concerns the events surrounding and following the conquest of Granada in 1492.

Moreover, an Egyptian publication on al-Andalus was

opportunities in the Arab world that may not be open to other Moroccans. For example, Mikel de Epalza, one of the foremost scholars of Spanish and North African Andalusian history writes:

"It is on account of the following that the people of the Maghrib [Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia] always claim more than anyone, even more than the Spanish themselves, the Andalusian heritage: Morocco's "Granadan" art (see the [contemporary] tomb of Muhammad V), Tunisia's Andalusian villages of refugees from the seventeenth century, Algeria's city of Tlemcen, all [these places] with bewitching Andalusian music which transports Arabs over some notes of ma'louf [a style of poetry used with Andalusian music] to the Lost Paradise of Al-Andalus, to the enchanting gardens of all loves, divine and human. One can affirm that the Arabs (as also the Turks and Indians) return to Al-Andalus and transport their subconsciousness to dream and pleasure. But it is chiefly the Maghrib where the heritage of Al-Andalus is a

titled Wa tadhakuu min al-Andalus al-ibadah, by Ahmad Ra'if (1987, Cairo:al-Zahra), indicating the writer's feeling that al-Andalus belongs eternally to all Muslims. Also, the Iranian magazine Payam published an issue (Mihir, 1371 A.H. solar/September-October 1993 A.D.) devoting most of that issue to al-Andalus and its historical importance to all Muslims. A recent, albeit very poorly made with excessively inaccurate but nonetheless romanticized historical and cultural information, was made by a Pakistani "scholar" for the 1992 quinticentenary anniversary of the conquest of Granada. Bernard Lewis deals thoroughly with the romance of al-Andalus in Ottoman Turkey in "The Cult of Spain and the Turkish Romantics" in Islam in History: Ideas, People, and Events in the Middle East. Lewis notes that the phenomenon of al-Andalus arose in the end of the nineteenth century during a time of defeat for Muslim territories (1993:129).

In Morocco, the nation closest geographically and historically to Spain, the transnational references in various media to al-Andalus would be impossible to summarize here. Suffice it to say that every week during my 10 1/2 months in Morocco I was guaranteed weekly references in the daily newspapers to al-Andalus for both historical and metaphorical contemporary concerns.

living dream and where Andalusian names are on places of enjoyment: restaurants, hotels, beaches, cinemas, tourist complexes."²⁵

Being Andalusian also offers a person a set of self-perceptions that can include the global forces that pass through the city of Rabat. Andalusians claim a transnational past, a past that spans almost a millennium of pluralistic often changing local contexts which were the intersecting points of the Arab world, Europe, North, West, and East Africa, and after 1492, the New World. For example, the Andalusian Muhammad elaborated this point of being distinct and more European: "When I was twelve years old I went to live in France. I found that it was easy to be there, that there was no difference between my ideas and the French ideas. Then my mother and father came and they found it the same. The ideas shared are the same...I think like Europeans. When I returned from France I found that my family and I thought alike, but that my friends, non-Andalusians, and I did not think alike, we were distinct. This is the case for a friend of mine from the Qayrawan in Fez [this friend, even though he speaks differently, like this (he mimics the religious scholars in their slow exact classical Arabic) we still understand each other, we think alike], from an Andalusian family. He and I think alike and in turn he found his thoughts were not like those who are

²⁵Janvier 1988:28-32.

not from this background. "A'ndana fi dam" (It is in our blood). We understand each other. When we meet other Andalusians it does not take long to realize that we understand each other. When we meet, we understand. Others do not."

In these statements Muhammad is implying that Andalusians are a distinct group within Morocco and that they are more European as he sees little hindrance in styles of thinking between Andalusians and the French. He is also doing one more thing here: he is using his Andalusian heritage from Spain as a broader European heritage by way of arguing that he is more French, a useful side-step considering that the elite of Morocco are strongly influenced by French culture and French styles of conducting one's affairs.

Despite the rhetoric Muhammad uses above to express the distinctiveness of the Andalusians, he then goes on to use the Andalusian identity as a reason for why he believes no one should be divided along the lines of religion or ethnicity. During one meeting Muhammad philosophically asked, 'Why are the differences between people used to insist on divisions between people? Why is the world like this?' He elaborated this point by discussing Muslim diversity: 'Culturally Muslims are distinct from each other and yet we all have one religion and are one in this way.' In sum, on one hand Muhammad argues that Andalusians are

special, a class apart and he is comfortable with this distinction. On the other hand Muhammad uses the same identity to argue for tolerance of people who are different. He is showing that his broad past of being from a romanticized Islamic Spain coupled with the persecution of his ancestors allows him to play the two sides of transnational interests: to be an exclusive group in power over the social and political forces in one's city, and at the same time to represent himself in this role as open-minded and tolerant.

Ahmad, another Andalusian man, demonstrates the centrality of the Andalusian identity in defining himself and his group as both distinct and yet open-minded. The difference between Ahmad, as I call him, and Muhammad above is the style with which he expresses these sentiments. The content is the same while the form of expression varies. The memory of specific details of Ahmad's family's history is less than that of Muhammad, though like all the Andalusians with whom I spoke, the specific memory is made up for with the knowledge of the general memory of Al-Andalus and it is clear that specifics are not necessary for one to take one's Andalusian identity as central to one's self concept. The few known pieces of specific family history are that this family originated from the region including and between the cities of Toledo and Seville. Subsequent conversations with Ahmad reflected more on being

from the two mentioned cities rather than on the more rural territory lying between them. Beyond this Ahmad speaks of his own extended family, recollecting family life when he was young and his grandparents were alive. At that time they still lived in the Medina, the traditional residence of the Andalusian families in Rabat. When Ahmad got married he moved to a neighborhood next door which had housed the Portuguese and Spanish workers in Morocco during the time of the Protectorate. What is rich in the lives of Ahmad's family and is a persistent memory is the closeness of the family and the ways of doing things--cooking, embroidery, music, etc--that are considered to be Andalusian traces found in the present. The memory lies herein in the area of doing things. This memory is a part of daily life and it reinforces Ahmad's and his family's sense of being Andalusian. In turn, being Andalusian seems to reinforce their world view which dictates an open-minded universal perspective of people. The manifestations of their world view brings Andalusians such as Ahmad and his children into closer contact with the international elements in their city. Ahmad sees the Andalusian identity as an internationally relevant identity because Andalusians are heirs to a rich tradition of mixed cultures which created the hybrid and unique culture of Al-Andalus. In this way, unlike Muhammad above, Ahmad interprets the Andalusian past as being one that is universal and open-minded in the face

of diversity. For him it is a means of connecting to others from other backgrounds, whereas for Muhammad it is a means of distinguishing oneself and standing apart. Ahmad's approach to relating to his inherited Andalusian-ness is more deferential and humble than Muhammad's. His family, too, has a long history of important governmental roles and still, he is a green grocer. He is also a very respected and talented oud (lute) player and plays in an amateur orchestra, which specializes in performing, as authentically as possible, the Andalusian music from the old city of Granada. Ahmad will insist that, rather than being special by virtue of blood descent from Andalusians from Spain, he and his group are universalists in their outlook. That is to say, their position has taught them to see the universal and open-minded side of daily life with others. This universality transcends religion, economics, music, how to dress, etc. He humbles himself to Andalusian-ness and says that this past experience teaches one to accept others, whatever their differences are, and to be open-minded in religious affairs. He goes on to state music as being one of the purest means to achieve universal spiritual experience. This he gains through playing the old Andalusian music of Granada.

Because of all the identity values attached to being Andalusian, Andalusians have more options and opportunities in participating and influencing the transnational worlds

that they encounter.

The Andalusian identity is a transnational identity because it is complex and has a long history of transnational adaptation in different times and different places. Dimensions of the Andalusian identity's complexity are the following (these are subjective dimensions defined and used by Andalusian and non-Andalusian Moroccans alike):

Table 2: Contextual referential dimensions of the Andalusian identity.

Social Arena	Past References	Present References
National Politics	711 A.D. conquest of Spain. Almoravids. Almohads. Kingdom of Granada.	Arab unity and power. Arab and Berber unity. Christian oppression of Muslims
International Politics	"Convivencia" under the Muslims. Large-scale trade. Networks from West Africa, the Eastern Muslim world, and Europe. Large exchanges of intellectual works and artistic traditions. Mediterranean and Atlantic piracy.	Muslim tolerance of other religions of the Book. Commercial strength. Intellectual prowess. Continued production of traditional arts. Twentieth century sophistication and diplomacy. Romantic mythology of piracy.
Ethnic Dimension	Andalusian as a blend of Arabs, Berbers, Iberians, Jews, and other Europeans.	Diverse cultural background and complex identity references.

(Table 2, continued)

Religion	Predominant Islamic culture with Christians and Jews living under Muslim rule. Expansive activities in religious thought, especially mysticism. Universal tolerance of all religions of the Book.	<u>Dar al-Islam</u> (the abode of Islam) in Europe, and <u>Fath al-Andalus</u> (the conquest of al-Andalus, also considered "Paradise"). Muslim religious tolerance. Nostalgia of religious diversity and experience in al-Andalus. Mysticism.
Economic Activities	Broad international trade. Expressive artisinal activities. Agricultural development and flourishing of the Peninsula.	Contributed intellectual and artistic traditions to the world which enabled the West to achieve what it has today.
Class Status	Elite, urban class.	Learned, classical urban culture of Morocco.
Education	Highly valued and pursued.	Same.
Professional Lives	Arts and letters, philosophy, medicine, and other sciences.	Same.
Aesthetic Culture	Music, poetry, architecture, cooking, wood-work, clothing, and embroidery.	Same.

The complexity of the application of the Andalusian identity, as seen above, offers many alternatives to the

individual in the international contexts that pass through Rabat. Being Andalusian offers the descendant of this heritage a universal international outlook by virtue of the international roots of Spain and the international history of Rabat, which makes the person predisposed to being fluid in international settings. The Andalusian identity also serves in anchoring the individual in the local setting of their city through the fact that being Andalusian is an important part of Moroccan culture in general and therefore Moroccans themselves are giving confirmation to the Andalusians' sense of their selves.

Finally, being Andalusian allows the individual to be Arab, European, or a distinct hybridization of both identities, and this in turn gives the Andalusian a foothold in both what is traditional and what is modern. Jonathan Friedman writes in his article, "Being in the World: Globalization and Localization", that what is modern for different people is a "...contrast [that] is one of symmetrical inversion: consumption of modernity vs. production of tradition, other-centered vs. self-centered, pilgrimage to Paris vs. struggle for land rights. The contrast in strategies of identity...is not simply a question of cultural difference, but of global position."²⁶. Friedman states the above in the context of summarizing trends on local levels that are emerging as a

²⁶Friedman, 1990:324.

result of increased world-wide contact between cultures, mostly prompted by economic activities. Friedman sees there being two basic responses on a local level to globalization: some people chose to participate in the "consumption of modernity" and abandon tradition, while other people chose a grass-roots "production of tradition" strategy. By way of conclusion I offer a third possibility: the Andalusians are a group of individuals whose strategy is actually a combination of the modernist and traditionalist strategies observed by Friedman. Andalusians are both producers of tradition, the Andalusian tradition being among the most influential traditions in Morocco; and because the Andalusian tradition possesses a complexity rooted in both European and Arab cultures, it also becomes a part of defining the consumption of modernity by way of creating new ways of being classically traditional in a modern setting. By virtue of being Arab, the Andalusians are rooted in tradition, and by virtue of being European, the Andalusians are rooted in the present Moroccan interest in European commodities and culture. Like the exclamation described on the postcard at the beginning of this section which indicates Morocco's position between East and West, there is a parallel with how Morocco is being portrayed by Moroccans to outsiders and how Andalusians are portraying themselves to Moroccans. One could accurately rewrite that postcard and say: "C'est l'Orient, c'est l'Occident, c'est

l'Andalusien".

VI. Conclusion

In this chapter the Andalusian identity as a complex identity has been discussed. There are two levels of complexity: the diverse contexts in which this identity is expressed, such as cultural and learned, religious, national, and transnational; and the broad range of both historical and contemporaneous identity attachments associated with the Andalusian identity. Given these two levels of complexity, the Andalusian identity appears and is expressed from within and from without Andalusian circles, demonstrating the society-wide value placed on this identity. Because of this expressed complexity, the Andalusian identity continues to be perpetuated within Moroccan society, and thus, the identity has persisted into the present generations.

Chapter 7: The Andalusian Identity as a Reference Group

I. Introduction: Class and the Process through which non-Andalusians Recognize the Andalusian Identity

As far back as the fourteenth century, an elitist attitude among North Africans and Andalusian refugees toward the Andalusian heritage, civilization and family is apparent, as is evident in Ibn Khaldun's writing¹. From the fourteenth century, and probably earlier, the Andalusian identity carried the attributes affiliated with an advanced Muslim and European civilization: being educated, cultured and learned, and being a part of the activities of translation, experimentation, and expansion of knowledge in the sciences and the arts. It is clear from the persistence of the Andalusian identity among families that migrated to North Africa before and during 1492, as well as families from Rabat that came later in the early seventeenth century, that the Andalusian identity was held on to in part because of these attributes of learning and civilization. Both Andalusians and non-Andalusian Moroccans agree that an Andalusian, past and present, comes from an elitist,

¹In Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History. Translated by Franz Rosenthal. 1958. New York: Bollingen Foundation, Inc. See especially Rosenthal's, "Translator's Introduction", page xxxvi. See within the translated text, vol 2:24, 290, 350, and 386, and vol 3:302.

learned, and cultured background.

The persistence of the Andalusian identity is due to its recognition by both insiders (Andalusians) and outsiders (non-Andalusian Moroccans). Because the Andalusians are an important reference group for Moroccans in general, this outer perspective of the Andalusian group also contributes to the complexity and the continuity of the identity. For instance, recently the Moroccan author Muhammad bin Ahmad Ashma'u (who is not Andalusian) published a book on Andalusian stories where he or the book's publisher, writes (after discussing both the history of the fall of the Kingdom of Granada and the importance of preserving the Andalusian stories) that, "...al-Andalus is present in Morocco always and will remain there, and that is because no oppression nor tyranny can erase it...[for] al-Andalus is here in her learning and in her men of distinction, and in her arts, and in her civilization, and in her style of living, and from those things of her diversions!" (1992, back cover). Here is a good example of a non-Andalusian Moroccan positively engaging the Andalusian identity as an attribute of both the descendants from al-Andalus as well as the general material cultural inheritance that Morocco has received from the Andalusian civilization.

This chapter's consideration of the Andalusian identity as it is perceived and used by many members of Moroccan society, draws heavily upon the synchronic identity studies

mentioned in Chapter 1, especially Goffman's concepts of identity usage (1973), Hallowell's and Wallace's ideas of identity as a dimension of a culture's ethos (1955 and 1970, respectively), and Wallace's ideas of "total identity" (1967). Additionally, more as an analytical method than as a theory, this chapter uses ideas from Reference Group Theory toward analyzing the dynamics of the Andalusian identity. In Merton's words, "...reference group theory aims to systematize the determinants and consequences of those processes of evaluation and self-appraisal in which the individual takes the values or standards of other individuals and groups as a...frame of reference" ².

Reference group theory focuses on the fact that an identity can have no definition nor any meaning without the influence of groups that are outside of that identity. First, identities are formulated and maintained because of the existence of an outside difference in another person or group. In other words, identities are relative to their social context. Second, an identity also can have no meaning without reference to other identities. It is this area of referencing self and others that concerns reference group theory. Reference groups are seen as those groups to which an individual will make both positive and negative reference in order to define the positive attributes they either desire or believe they possess. The reference groups

²Merton and Kitt, 1950:50-51.

of a person or a group are therefore the standards that that person or group sets for him or themselves. The reference groups are also strong indicators for how the person, or group, perceives of himself or themselves³. In applying the analytical tool of reference group designations among both non-Andalusian and Andalusian Moroccans, several patterns have emerged which reveal the social role the Andalusian identity plays in Moroccan society. In this section, the Andalusian identity is put into its relative position with other reference groups. Furthermore, the relative position of this identity varies from person to person and the variation is directly linked to four factors: the person's class, education, ethnic group, and ambition for class mobility. At the end of the spectrum where the Andalusian group is referenced most centrally to a person's self perception, most individuals here are from Andalusian families. At the other end of the spectrum where either the Andalusian group is not referenced at all or it is referenced as a very distant group are Moroccans from the lower classes. Whether the Andalusian group is seen as positive or negative, many individuals from the out-group are so different from Andalusians along class, ethnic and

³Principal works concerning reference group theory (RGT) and ideas related to or derived from RGT are the following: Hyman, H., 1968. "Reference Groups", in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, pp.353-361; R. Merton, 1957; R. Merton and Kitt, 1950, Shibutani, 1961; Levine and Campbell, 1972; Goodenough, 1969; Kopytoff, 1990; and Goffman, 1963 and 1973.

educational lines that they are outside of the social arena which engages the activities and attributes associated with Andalusians.

II. The Andalusians as a Reference Group to both Andalusian and Non-Andalusian Moroccans

Beyond the common attributes of being elitist, learned and cultured, there exists a variation of expressed "Andalusian-ness" which is the result of each individual Andalusian's personalized expression of the identity in the areas of their life where this identity plays a predominant role. Some Andalusians express Andalusian-ness in their politics, a widespread phenomenon because many people from the Andalusian families of Rabat, Fez, and Tetouan are in service of the King. Some Andalusians express Andalusian-ness in their notion of the nation as well as their idea of who they are in the international arena. Some consider being Andalusian as having a special religious outlook toward their nation's religious tradition. Some Andalusian individuals see being Andalusian as an ethnic identity, offering them a basic sense of who they are, who they were, and how they fit into the general social landscape of the city and the nation.

Almost all of the non-Andalusian Moroccans with whom I spoke had their opinion of who the Andalusians are, also.

Indeed, through the process of defining the Andalusians as a distinct group, other Moroccans are giving legitimacy to the Andalusians as a group. For example, a woman I met on the train to Fez, commented that, "...of course, the Andalusians are important to Morocco and to Moroccans". Another woman, the granddaughter of a Berber man who was famous for his opposition to the French in the nationalist movement, told me, "Andalusians are so arrogant and proud that they love to talk about themselves." A young Moroccan man told me that the Andalusians are seen as important because they brought civilization and learning with them to Morocco. To this same man the Andalusians also represent open-mindedness because "they lived in a state of convivencia during the same centuries that Morocco was a place where only one way of thinking and living was tolerated."

Moreover, the printed word also reinforces the pan-Moroccan legitimization of the Andalusians as a distinct and valued group. For example, one of the most widely read Arabic-language newspapers in Morocco, Al-Alam, often printed an opinion column on the Andalusian heritage⁴, a special friday section that discussed the Andalusian influence in Moroccan poetry and music⁵, and a set of four pictures of Granada accompanied by a nostalgic Spanish poem

⁴For example, see Al-Alam, December 12, 1992 and June 3, 1993.

⁵Al-Alam, March 13, 1992, and April 19, 1993.

translated into Arabic with no other accompanying text or explanation for the selection of these pictures or the poem⁶. Also, in secondary school textbooks, and from their teachers, Moroccans learn that al-Andalus was a victorious religious conquest. A Moroccan student told me that one day in class his friend challenged this idea and stated that the Arab and Berber conquest of Spain was simply an invasion and nothing to be romanticized. No discussion of this new interpretation of history resulted and the student was disciplined by his teacher, who maintained that the conquest was a great fath, conquest or victory, for Islam.

An important factor involved in how both Andalusians view themselves and how non-Andalusians view Andalusians involves a storehouse of imagined ideas about being Andalusian, as discussed in the previous chapter, and how current behaviors and hear-say mix with these images. The role of the "imagined" also offers insights into the Andalusian identity's persistence. Al-Andalus is a central part of the historical education and the cultural landscape of contemporary Morocco. It is a pinnacle of the Moroccan past and every Moroccan knows about it and has ideas about the glory it brought to northwestern Africa. Moreover, the

⁶Al-Alam, December 18, 1992. Ironically, the first three pictures are of the Islamic structures in the Alhambra while the third picture is the Capilla Real, Royal Chapel, showing the stone-engraved tomb seals depicting the Catholic king and queen, Ferdinand and Isabel, who were responsible for the forced policies of conversion of the Jewish and Muslim populations of Spain!

past of Islamic Spain spans some 800 years (900 years, if one includes the Moriscos' history) and among contemporary descendants of families from Al-Andalus, this past has been "collapsed" into a common heritage for all Andalusian descendants, as discussed in chapter 3. Thus, while the prestige of the Andalusians in Moroccan society in general is well-established, alone the Andalusians could not be successful toward this end. In addition to the historical and contemporaneous influence of Andalusians in Moroccan society, without the help of other Moroccans, this influence would not go far. It is argued in this chapter that it is the relationship between these different Moroccan groups that gives the Andalusian identity legitimacy in Moroccan society. How non-Andalusian Moroccans relate to Andalusians and the Andalusian heritage of Morocco is a class-defining issue.

But what is meant by "class" in this context? Class is an issue that Moroccans almost never discuss explicitly. Moroccans with whom I spoke and spent my time would refer to class as tabaqah ijtima'i, social level. These same Moroccans told me that class in Morocco is based on wealth. Yet, the impression given off, that is, the ideas I heard and the behaviors I observed when my companions were not explicitly discussing class, is that class is also implicitly defined by one's ethnic group as well as the ascribed and acquired attributes that are associated with

that group. For example, when I asked a non-Andalusian Moroccan acquaintance in the medina of Rabat why the Andalusians were considered upper-class, he responded right out that it is because they are wealthy. I was not convinced by this answer, especially because I knew a few Andalusians who economically would fall into a middle class economic category and yet they were associated with the upper class. Weeks later when I visited this same acquaintance, in the course of discussing other topics, I began to learn that he felt there is no class mobility in Morocco because wealth alone does not open doors; one must also be born into a privileged group in order to be a member of the upper classes. Moreover, this acquaintance, who is both Berber and Sūd, saw his ethnic group as being deprived of the opportunities that upper class Arab, Shurufat, Fassi and/or Andalusian Moroccans had. While this same person would not explicitly acknowledge that these people are upper class in part because of their ethnic group, as well as their wealth, nevertheless his opinions on many issues point to this conclusion.

Thus, "class" as it is experienced in Morocco is both a hierarchy based on wealth and on ethnic group membership. Furthermore, the upper class ethnic groups are associated with certain behavioral attributes as much as, if not more, than any overt distinction in their physical attributes. Thus, an Andalusian is often described as someone with the

attributes of tarbiyyah and ḥadārah while also being described as people with lighter hair, skin, and eyes. Moreover, everyone I spoke with believes that they are wealthy, even though in truth several Rabati Andalusian families have modest incomes and lifestyles.

Finally, upper and middle class Moroccans had the most to say about the Andalusians and their heritage while lower class Moroccans did not, except for those from lower classes who were aspiring to move upward in the class structure. This indicates that the Andalusian identity is engaged as a sign of the upper classes and for one who aspires to upward mobility it becomes an important identity. The Andalusian identity is an upper class identity for three reasons. First, many Andalusians are upper class members or in a prestigious middle class position. Second, the Andalusian identity is perceived as an historically urban and learned identity, one associated with upper class attributes. Third, the Andalusian heritage as it is projected through many forms in the public culture, such as the Mausoleum of Mohammed V, the many Andalusian-style sitting areas and restaurants in fancy hotels, the Andalusian Orchestras performing on television almost every afternoon, and the government-associated Andalusian names published in the daily papers, that give the sense among the population in general that Andalusians from all the major northern cities are the King's counselors. Together, all these facets of

the identity communicate to the general population, especially those interested in their own class status, that this is an upper class identity.

This chapter offers a number of cases which have been selected because of their exemplary information in representing individual total identities from each group discussed above.

A. Identity and Reference Group Charts of Three Upper Class Andalusians

The upper class Andalusians whose identities and reference groups are represented in figures 1 and 2 show individuals who value not only their Andalusian identity but also the related upper-class attributes that go with it. Repeated themes, as seen in the reference groups nearest these two people's core identities, are: civilized people, bourgeois people, Europeans, especially the French and the Spanish, Arabs who represent classical Arab culture, educated people, and upper-level influential people (the King). These same upper class Andalusians make no mention of Berbers. The reference groups situated at a distance from their core identities are reference groups in which they have little or no participation but to whom they do refer in defining themselves. These distant reference groups are those associated with lower class peoples in

Morocco; ordinary Moroccans, uneducated "ignorant" people of any nationality, and Muslims with extreme political and religious agendas. The relationship of the core identities and the placement of the reference groups in figures 1 and 2 reveal two people whose identity is sharply demarcated through opposing groups. The groups beyond the social contact with these two individuals' core identities are all labelled as negative. Moreover, these groups define who these Andalusians see themselves as, based on the contrast of the definition of others and themselves. Among the Andalusians whose reference groups and identity construction follow this pattern, there is a strong inclusive attitude toward their Andalusian ancestry: it is something that has given them the privileges of upper class participation. The irony is that many non-Andalusian Moroccans also value the Andalusian heritage because the meaning it carries for Moroccans in general is that of universal Moroccan civilization and learning. The Andalusian heritage is one of the primary anchors which gives Morocco Islamic historical clout, in the Muslim world in general, and in the Arab world in particular. In this different approach to the Andalusian identity from the in-group to the out-group, one can see the root of the non-Andalusian Moroccans combined admiration and resentment of the Andalusians. (Note: only if a reference group is completely positive or completely negative from the perspective of each individual in the following figures do I put a "(+)" or "(-)" after that

group.)

<u>Individual's Core Identities</u>	<u>Proximate Reference Groups</u>	<u>Distant Reference Groups</u>
Andalusian Cartesian French Spanish Arab Moroccan Civilized Educated Bourgeoisie Historian Businessman Diplomat	Andalusian French People with <u>tarbiyyah</u> and <u>hadarah</u> Bourgeoisie Historians Fassis the King Moroccan Jews	non-Andalusians lower classes Iranian Americans (me) (no mention of Berbers)

FIGURE 1: Reference group chart of an upper class Andalusian

<u>Individual's Core Identities</u>	<u>Proximate Reference Groups</u>	<u>Distant Reference Groups</u>
Nationalist Educated Andalusian Calligrapher Musician Civilized Bourgeoisie Teacher Rabati	Nationalists Educated People Andalusians Moroccans the King	 Foreigners Anthropologists (me) (no mention of Berbers)

FIGURE 2: Reference group chart of an upper class Andalusian

individuals in figures 1 and 2 above. The difference is in the attitudes these three people express toward other groups. This leads to the second aspect of the person in figure 3's construction of his identity: he chooses to express his influence in the society as inclusive rather than exclusive. Rather than confine himself to the upper classes, as his social position could afford, he has chosen a more universal application of his social privilege and engages in activities with a diverse range of people. Given this form of self-representation, what this person's distant and/or negative reference groups are, one cannot be sure. In Goffman's terms, the person in figure 3 has been successful in what he "gives" as information about who he is and has also been exceptionally successful in controlling what he "gives off" (1959:2). It would be significant to mention that this person is among the most successful and powerful Andalusians in the King's service and has also held many diplomatic positions.

B. Identity and Reference Group Charts of Two Upper Middle Class Andalusians

The Andalusian Moroccans represented by figures 4 and 5 reveal similar identity and reference group patterns with each other and with the upper class Andalusians in figures 1-3. The class difference here is determined by wealth level and occupational practice. The person in figure 4 is

a merchant and an accomplished well-known musician. The person in figure 5 is a historian. Their wealth levels are below those individuals in figures 1, 2 and 3. The person in figure 1 is a historian and large-scale businessman who has many sons working for the King. He is considered among the wealthiest men in Morocco, as is the person in figure 3. The individual in figure 2 is an educator and an influential nationalist.

<u>Individual's Core Identities</u>	<u>Proximate Reference Groups</u>	<u>Distant Reference Groups</u>
Sufi Musician Rabati Andalusian Merchant Conductor Good Father Historian Educated Modest	Sufis and Universalists Musicians Rabatis Andalusians Educated People Tetouanis People from Oujda Farmers Spanish	Jews (+) Superficial people (-) French Swiss (no mention of Berbers)

FIGURE 4: Reference group chart of an upper middle class Andalusian

<u>Individual's Core Identities</u>	<u>Proximate Reference Groups</u>	<u>Distant Reference Groups</u>
Andalusian Historian Writer Civilized Educated Well-respected Rabati	Andalusians Historians Scholars Cultured Moroccans Educated People Moroccans Muslims Jews Portuguese Spanish French	 Iranians/Shiites Americans (no mention of Berbers)

FIGURE 5: Reference group chart of an upper middle class Andalusian

The similar pattern that emerges has two dimensions. First, both groups of Andalusians highly value the identities of being well-educated and possessing tarbiyyah. Second, the same division of being inclusive versus exclusive appears between the person in figure 4 and the person in figure 5, the former being drawn to the universal aspects of the Andalusian identity and the latter, figure 5, using the Andalusian identity as a way to distinguish and separate himself from other Moroccans.

C. Identity and Reference Group Chart of an Upper Class Non-Andalusian Moroccan

Figure 6 represents an upper class individual from the city of Rabat, a historian and a diplomat, who is not from

an Andalusian family. Nevertheless, Andalusians are an important reference group for this individual, as they are for many other people of similar status. This individual, like the person in figure 3, chooses to define and discuss reference groups in whom he sees himself as included. He also sees these groups as positive references. Similarly, many elites in this category only focus on the groups with whom they are actively involved. Social groups with whom these individuals have little or no interaction are not relevant in their formulation of their own identity. This lack of non-participating distant reference groups appears to indicate two differences between the non-Andalusian elite of Rabat and the Andalusian elite of Rabat. First, there appears to be less self-consciousness, on the part of the non-Andalusian, of being a part of an exclusive group, as is the case for Andalusians. Second, the non-Andalusian elites' distinction in society is more primarily one of class whereas for Andalusians class and ethnic background are nearly inseparable. Because of this second difference, it is suggested that a non-Andalusian Moroccan elite is less aware, or concerned, about groups outside their interactive circles because of an emphasis on class divisions, while the Andalusians are more aware of groups often outside their spheres of social interaction because ethnicity is not an identity defined as clearly as is class. Other groups, as references, may be more significant to a person who places importance on an ethnic identity in addition to class

identity because the two are not always defining the same social divisions, something already suggested by A. Cohen (1974:ix-xxiv)⁷.

<u>Individual's Core Identities</u>	<u>Proximate Reference Groups</u>	<u>Distant Reference Groups</u>
Urban elite Diplomat Upper class Rabati Originally from Sous Historian Writer Educated	Rabatis Andalusians Moroccans	 Educated people Foreigners

FIGURE 6: Reference group chart of an upper class non-Andalusian

D. Identity and Reference Group Charts of Two Upper Middle Class Non-Andalusian Moroccans

Figures 7 and 8 show the identities and reference groups of non-Andalusian individuals from the upper middle class in Morocco. Both individuals are teachers, though the individual for figure 7 has more education and less money than the person in figure 8. The two attributes of wealth and education are central to the ways each individual refers to the Andalusians, whom both hold in high esteem.

⁷Abner Cohen (1974) suggests that a class-division within an ethnic group will diminish the importance of an ethnic group's identity in comparison to the class identity. This pattern has not emerged among the Andalusians, though the class divisions are not as great as those in the context that Cohen worked.

For the person in figure 7, the Andalusians are a positive reference group because they represent classical learning and education. He also views the Andalusians as being from families with 'old money' values, that is, they have the learning and refined behavior of the upper class without the pretenses of wealth, whether or not they still have their wealth intact. To the person represented in figure 7, who serves as a good representative for the intellectual class in Morocco, learning is of central importance and this individual's chart reflects this emphasis in the other reference groups chosen. Moreover, compared to the person in figure 8, the person in figure 7 is less concerned about upward mobility into the upper class. The person in figure 8 is also representative of many upper middle class Moroccans, and distinct from figure 7 in that he aspires to enter into the upper class. For the person in figure 8, the Andalusians are also important because they represent classical Moroccan civilization, attributes that the person in figure 8 equates with the upper class. Interestingly, this individual seeks the attributes of being Andalusian through material acquisition of things deemed Andalusian, while the person in figure 7 does so through further reading and study of history and literature.

<u>Individual's Core Identities</u>	<u>Proximate Reference Groups</u>	<u>Distant Reference Groups</u>
Scholar From Oujda Moroccan Nationalist both Religious and Secular Middle Class	Scholars Moroccans Americans Berbers	Scholars Moroccan Elites Andalusians

FIGURE 7:Reference group chart of an upper middle class non-Andalusian

<u>Individual's Core Identities</u>	<u>Proximate Reference Groups</u>	<u>Distant Reference Groups</u>
From the Rif Turk Algerian African Bourgeoisie Educated Modernized Cosmopolitan	Northern Moroccans Turks Algerians Africans Upper Classes Western Foreigners, especially the French Americans Spanish Fassis Andalusians Religious people	Lower Class Moroccans

FIGURE 8:Reference group chart of an upper middle class non-Andalusian

E. Identity and Reference Group Charts of Three Middle Class Non-Andalusian Moroccans

Figures 9, 10 and 11 show a representative sample of identities and reference groups for middle class Moroccans.

These individuals also show degrees of adherence to values of education as embodied in the classical Andalusian heritage, as well as in the same differing degrees based on each person's ambitions in class mobility. That is, for the people represented in figures 9 and 11, the educated learned aspects of being Andalusian are seen in and of themselves as virtues to emulate, while the person in figure 10, who also has stronger ambitions for upward class mobility, sees the Andalusian identity as something to emulate because its image of being learned translates into greater influence, wealth and a higher class. This person, in figure 10, also engages the Andalusian identity as something with which he hopes to have more frequent social interaction, that is, he hopes to gain entry into elite social circles and sees it as something plausible.

<u>Individual's Core Identities</u>	<u>Proximate Reference Groups</u>	<u>Distant Reference Groups</u>
Unpretentious English Speaker Teacher Polyglot Slawi (from Sale) Educated Anglophile Middle Class Moroccan	The English Moroccans Andalusians Americans Nationalists The French	

FIGURE 9: Reference group chart of a middle class non-Andalusian

<u>Individual's Core Identities</u>	<u>Proximate Reference Groups</u>	<u>Distant Reference Groups</u>
Tetouani Northern Moroccan From Chefchaouen Englishman Educated Businessman Middle Class "Andalusian" From Tangier From Nader	Tetouanis Rifians Chefchaouenis The English Educated Moroccans Andalusians Naderis	Educated Foreigners Europeans Americans

FIGURE 10: Reference group chart of a middle class non-Andalusian

<u>Individual's Core Identities</u>	<u>Proximate Reference Groups</u>	<u>Distant Reference Groups</u>
Moroccan Americanized Intellectual Teacher Middle Class Scholar Socialist Linguist Secularist Arab Berber	Americans Ideologists Lower and Middle Classes Scholars, Poets and Writers Average Moroccans Some Andalusians (+) Some Shurufat Middle Easterners The French	Some Andalusians (-) Alawis Fassis

FIGURE 11: Reference group chart of a middle class non-Andalusian

F. Identity and Reference Group Charts of Two Lower Class Non-Andalusian Moroccans

Finally, figures 12 and 13 show a representative sample of individuals from Moroccan society's lower class. Most significant in these two figures is the fact that, while the Andalusian group is referred to in both cases, it is not an identity either of these people relate to or aspire to. For both of these individuals, the Andalusian identity is a part of their awareness of the social and cultural diversity, and hierarchy, in Morocco, but it is not a group with whom they ever expect to interact or to know. Moreover, neither of these people share the same degree of ambition toward class mobility as those Moroccans discussed above from the middle and upper middle classes. Thus, the Andalusian identity does appear to be equated with class and education level and can be seen as a gauge for where an individual in the society places him or herself as well as what that person's ambitions (or perceived reality of class mobility) are within the society.

<u>Individual's Core Identities</u>	<u>Proximate Reference Groups</u>	<u>Distant Reference Groups</u>
Slawi Marrakechi Lower Class Local Person to Rabat Divorced Mother Maid non-Literate Traditional <u>Muhajiba</u> (A woman who veils) Self-sufficient <u>Sudah</u>	Slawis Marrakechis Lower Classes Locals Other Black People, regardless of their place of origin Americans French	Upper Classes Some Americans (-) Andalusians Rifians

FIGURE 12: Reference group chart of a lower class non-Andalusian

<u>Individual's Core Identities</u>	<u>Proximate Reference Groups</u>	<u>Distant Reference Groups</u>
Educated Office worker Moroccan Anglophile Feminist Self-sufficient Polyglot Arab (believes her ancestry is traced to the Arabian Peninsula) Southern Moroccan	Certain Moroccans (+) Feminists and Western Women Arabs Berbers Black Moroccans Certain Americans (+) Open-Minded People Italians Spanish	Certain Moroccans (-) Monoglots (-) Certain Americans (-)

FIGURE 13: Reference group chart of a lower class non-Andalusian

III. Conclusion

Andalusians represent to Moroccans, especially middle class educated and upper class Moroccans, the high culture of Morocco and the idea that Morocco was once a part of an important Islamic civilization. Consequently, engaging Andalusian attributes engages middle and upper class values. The only Moroccans from lower class origins who saw meaning in the Andalusian identity, whether positive because they desired to emulate those values, or negative because they felt that those values kept them shut out of the upper echelons, were the ambitious upwardly mobile Moroccans. This is similar to Bourdieu's discussion of the class-based definitions of social reality and the negotiation of taste and social distinction (1984). Bourdieu observes that certain aspects of society, both material and abstract, are deemed desirable and placed in the arena of "taste", thus becoming more classified in a hierarchical scheme than this aspect of society had been before. Those members of society who can consume these desired aspects of society are represented as the most prestigious members of the society. In turn, for the other members of society who wish to participate in this circle of consuming and of prestige, there are either those who are ambitious and have the possibility of possessing the desired aspects and the prestige that accompanies it, or, those who are incapable of possessing the desired aspect yet who wish to engage the

value-system in which this taste hierarchy is involved. Finally, in Bourdieu's scheme, there are also those members of society who do not participate in this circle of consuming and prestige. These latter members are nonetheless being judged by the very system in which they refuse to participate. Using Bourdieu's work Distinction serves well to reveal the dynamics of the Andalusian identity as a prestige good and as a set of attributes that many Moroccans, not only Andalusians, wish to possess. At this intersection of being Andalusian or not being Andalusian, the most likely common currency to cross the lines between an insider (to the identity) and an outsider is the material culture of the Andalusian heritage. The material culture is something that everyone can possess, quite unlike the actual Andalusian descent, which is quite difficult to possess because it is an ascribed identity and because Andalusians are more endogamous than not⁸. Consequently, to possess the attributes of an Andalusian, one can begin by consuming the material articles which are identified with the Andalusian heritage: those items that are traditional to the Andalusian heritage, including education, the modern prestige goods which wealthy class-conscious Moroccans can buy. How far a non-Andalusian Moroccan goes in acquiring the accoutrements of Andalusian-ness depends on the combination of four main factors: the

⁸Though, endogamy among Andalusians is less practiced by younger generations today than one and two generations ago.

Moroccan's ambition/motivation to be a part of the cultural elite; the Moroccan's class status; the Moroccan's education; and finally, the Moroccan's ethnic background.

Finally, as Shibutani states, "The concept of reference group may be used to designate that group, real or imaginary, whose standpoint is being used as the frame of reference by the actor." (1961:257). This is implying that a person can draw upon their perceptions of a group, real or imagined, in defining themselves. The key to understanding the persistence of the Andalusian identity here is in the ideas of a person's perceptions of a group, and the imaginary aspects of that perception: these two facets of reference grouping allow an historical identity to be regenerated in the minds of more than simply the descendants of that identity and consequently, both the in-group and the out-group of that identity engage, define and find value in the identity. The final result: the identity continues as a living identity and persists with subsequent generations of Moroccans.

Chapter 8: To Persist or Not to Persist: Comparative Ethnic Identities and Conclusions

I. Introduction: Comparative Ethnic Identities

This dissertation argues that there are four main reasons for the persistence of the Andalusian identity: a strong continuous historical tradition which linked al-Andalus and Morocco from 711 to 1614 A.D.; important intergenerational elements in the social organization and practice of the Andalusian families; the complexity of expression and usage of the Andalusian identity; and finally, the high value placed on the Andalusian heritage and identity by other Moroccans, as a reference group, as well as by the Andalusians themselves. The question still remains, do these four reasons hold for other persistent ethnic group identities, and are these four reasons missing in cases of identities which have ceased to exist? The first question of looking at other persistent identities is considered comparatively with the Djerbans of Tunisia and the Fulbe of Nigeria. The latter question, concerning why an identity does not persist, is looked at comparatively with the Gaddis of Himachal Pradesh, India, and the Catawba and Monhegan American Indians of the North American south. Finally, because identity is not always an issue of

persistence or extinction, but of revitalization, a final group's identity is explored here: the Spanish Muslim Andalusian identity among recent Spanish converts to Islam in the south of contemporary Spain.

II. Identities that Persist

Identities that persist do not universally follow the same patterns of persistence: there are differences in the ebb and flow through the centuries of an identity. The Andalusian identity appears to be an identity whose ebb and flow was not dramatic in any given direction, unlike the Spanish Muslim Andalusian identity, discussed below, that saw a complete suppression for five centuries only to resurface in the last twenty years. Similar to the Moroccan Andalusian identity, the Djerban identity of the Tunisian Island of Djerba is another identity which has the ability to regenerate itself and persist.

Wilder (1980:1-19, 55-67, and 103-145) describes the Djerban identity as one that has attachments to origins, occupations, religion, and language, yet, it is also an ethnic identity which can be acquired as much as ascribed. According to Wilder, the longer an immigrant resides in Djerba the more they are considered Djerban. Also, as a person gains entry into land ownership and traditional

Djerban occupations, as well as marrying into established Djerban families, that person acquires the Djerban identity. Moreover, as Djerbans emigrate off the island, the immigrants to Djerba eventually take the place of Djerbans who never return, thus regenerating the Djerban population and fueling the persistence of the identity. The Andalusian identity on the other hand is exclusively an ascribed ethnicity: certain behaviors associated with being Andalusian can be utilized by a non-Andalusian but still he will never become an Andalusian. Are the patterns these two ethnic identities reveal, The Djerban and the Andalusian, compatible, given the four reasons this dissertation proposes for the persistence of identity? It appears at first that the acquired nature of the Djerban ethnic identity would make a case for an identity's persistence because it is available to more than the people who are born into a Djerban family. But this is not the reason for the Djerban identity's persistence. Rather, the Djerban identity is a desired identity, a positive reference group for a non-Djerban, and thus, the identity is reinforced as a valued identity. It is the positive valuing by the society in general that aids the persistence of this identity. Also, because there are established and flexible ideas surrounding the origins of each Djerban family and the traditional occupations--highly sought after occupations--practiced by Djerbans, there is also the element of

historical continuity on a macrohistorical level as well as on an intergenerational level. Moreover, the Djerban identity, being on the top of the ethnic hierarchy of the island, also makes this identity more complex because it has a broader base of power and therefore, of social action. Finally, while language and religious differences are more diverse than among Moroccans residing in Rabat, like the Andalusians, religion and language do not appear to draw clear enough boundaries around the Djerban identity to say that its persistence is determined by these two factors.

Another ethnic identity which has a strong pattern of persistence is that of the Adamawa Fulbe of the Gongola State in Nigeria (VerEecke, 1988). The Fulbe have a lot in common with the Andalusians of Rabat in that their identity is also held up as a representation of socially ideal attributes for the societies in which these ethnicities are found. The Andalusian identity represents learning, sophistication, traditional values of classical Arab civilization, as well as tolerance (in the concept of convivencia), especially in religious issues. The two words that were continually used to define Andalusian attributes were tarbiyyah and ḥadārah. The Fulbe identity is associated with the concept of pulaaku, which VerEecke defines as being those qualities of behavior esteemed by the Fulbe and by non-Fulbe alike: moral righteousness, a sense of shame, adherence to religion (Islam), patience, bravery,

dignity, kindness, generosity, truthfulness, and leadership, to list a few of the attributes discussed in VerEecke's work (1988:324-325). In both the Fulbe and the Andalusian cases, those members of their respective societies both admire the attributes associated with these ethnic identities while at the same time they consider the members of these ethnic groups as arrogant and overly proud (1988:1-2). Because of the society-wide idealized attributes of the Fulbe identity, as expressed through pulaaku, this identity possesses a complexity of expression in various changing contexts, again, much like the Andalusian identity.

Furthermore, the case of the Fulbe ethnicity is that of an identity whose status is high on the scale of ethnic stratification: it is an identity sought after by those who were not born into the Fulbe identity. Like the Djerban and the Andalusian identities, the Fulbe identity is a highly valued identity which is used as a reference group by non-Fulbe, toward defining their own identity. Finally, the Fulbe identity is connected to a historical continuity and has strong mechanisms of education, behavior, and distinctive Fulbe practices that maintain strong ties of transmission between the generations. The two factors of linguistic difference and lack of cultural assimilation with other groups are not sufficient enough to explain the maintenance and persistence of the Fulbe identity, much as is the case with the Andalusians.

III. Identities that Diminish and Disappear

An identity that is diminishing is that of the Brahmauri Gaddis in the Indian state of Himachal Pradesh, studied by Donald L. Horowitz (1982:111-140). The principal factor contributing to the decline of this ethnic group is attributed to economic changes (Horowitz, 1982:111). The Brahmauri Gaddis are "...actually an amalgam of several [Hindu] high-caste subgroups" (1982:111). The Brahmauri Gaddis are a community in close contact with Brahmauri Brahmans and Chamialis, the latter group being the most dominant and economically successful. Because of a decline in the Brahmauri sources of livelihood, many have sought employment in the town of Chamba, thus bringing this originally pastoral group into closer contact with the Chamialis. According to Horowitz, the Brahmauri Brahmans are more successful in acquiring employment in the town than are the Gaddis. Consequently, the Gaddis "amalgam of subgroups" is dissolving into the separate groups that they were before they fused. Previous to this situation, both the Gaddis and the Brahmans held similar social statuses but because of the economic changes, the groups are growing more separate and the Gaddis are losing their higher status, thus causing even greater fragmentation of the Gaddis groups into more distinct and smaller identity attachments. What appears to be happening, by applying the four reasons for

the persistence of an identity, is that, while the Gaddis have a historical continuity intact, the other three reasons--intergenerational continuity, complexity, and high reference value by others--are also diminishing with the shrinking of the identity.

The cases of the diminishing identities of the Catawba and Monhegan Indians in South Carolina (Hicks, 1975:75-92) shows that none of the four reasons presented here for the persistence of an identity are present. Furthermore, the other reasons discussed in the anthropological literature are also missing: a distinctive language or dialect, and barriers to complete cultural assimilation. Moreover, both Indian groups were completely converted to Christianity, thus eliminating a separate religious identity with the rest of the society. Also, in both these groups government policies abruptly interrupted the historical links which could inform their present-day practices with any continuous links to their peoples' history or their previous practices and ideas. Also, Catawbans and Monhegans fell under policies of "racial" assimilation which resulted in negative value attachments to the Catawba and the Monhegan identities in relation to the majority Anglo identity. Finally, as the two Indian groups found themselves forced into assimilation with the surrounding population, the Catawba affiliated themselves and married primarily with Anglos and with Mormons while the Monhegan affiliated with and married both

Anglos and Blacks. Given the already negative reference value placed by the majority society on being an American Indian, the association with Blacks further negated the Monhegans while the Catawba found their reference group value increase, though more and more as an Anglo group. The main point here is that the Catawba and the Monhegan identities were not valued highly enough by the surrounding society to be reinforced and maintained. Without this latter factor, or any of the other criteria of continuity and complexity, the Catawba and Monhegan identities have diminished in the process of acculturation.

IV. A Reappearing and Reinvented Identity: Contemporary Spanish Muslim Andalusians of Granada, Seville, and Cordoba

The opening paragraph of a recent Spanish newspaper article reads: "When they were baptized they were given the names Bernardo, Jose or Pedro; now they have converted to Islam and are called Umar, Shuayb, or Ibrahim. They make the pilgrimage to Mecca and recite daily, with discipline, the 99 names of God, one after the other. They live in Andalusia and remember the glorious Islamic past of Granada, the final stronghold of Muslims and the jewel of their presence of 700 years in al-Andalus. At the beginning of the eighties the new converts to Islam turned their

attention to the symbolic city of Granada. There the Spanish Muslims dream about a past filled with splendor."¹ This article was addressing an ever growing revitalization movement that has been emerging since Franco's death in 1975. According to the Spanish converts with whom I spoke, religious freedom finally came to Spain with Franco's death after 500 years of religious oppression. The motto of many newly converted to Islam is "Somos moros viejos y musulmanes nuevos" ("We are old Moors and new Muslims"). This motto expresses the sentiment that, while all Spaniards have been Christians since the fifteenth century, many nonetheless held on to the sentiment that their families may have once been Muslims or Jews. The presence of the Andalusian identity in Spain is quite different from its manifestations in Morocco, though the nostalgia and romance surrounding it are quite similar in both countries. Unlike the Andalusian identity in Morocco whose presence, expression, and esteemed value have been continually present, the Muslim Andalusian identity in Spain has been resurrected and in many ways reinvented in today's contemporary province of Andalucia in southern Spain.

In the Spanish case, historical continuity does not exist directly as it does through family intergenerational inheritance in Morocco. What historical continuity that

¹"Musulmanes en Espana". El Pais Semanal, 9 February 1992.

exists among the Spanish Muslim Andalusians is one that has been studied and taken from the history texts as well as through recent contact with Moroccans who are interested in contributing to this revitalization movement. Next, taking up the Muslim Andalusian identity in Spain has the opposite effect as the identity in Morocco: in Morocco it is a sign of prestige and is complex, while in Spain it is a narrowing of possibilities as most Spaniards do not understand the merit of such an identity². Spanish Muslim Andalusians confine themselves to their own group of converts and it is possible that while they found a new identity, its expression has meant the forfeiting of many other identities. The Spanish Muslim Andalusian identity only has one meaningful arena of expression: with its in-group. As a reference group, this identity does not possess the cultural symbolism and complexity of the same identity in Morocco. Thus, as can be seen, the four main reasons for the Andalusian identity's persistence in Morocco are almost completely reversed in the case in Spain. What is most distinct about these identities, and perhaps also explains this inversion of the four reasons, is the fact that the Andalusian identity has persisted more naturally (that is, less self-consciously) in Morocco whereas it is a new and very self-consciously created identity in Spain, where

²Especially because Spaniards today are familiar with Muslims and the Islamic world mainly through stereotyped negative categories.

disparate elements are being selected and included in the definition of the identity by the new converts.

Contrary to the complexity of the Andalusian identity as an expansive identity among Moroccan Andalusians, Spaniards who are today "re-discovering" their Muslim heritage and converting to Islam are choosing an identity which contracts the ways and arenas, in Spanish society, in which they can behave and interact. It is the opposite of expansion. To make the Muslim Andalusian identity one's own in Spain, one must select a new, less-accepted world. This brings greater limitations to one's constructed identity in the ways that one can interact in the world around oneself. It is a smaller world, there being far fewer Spanish Muslim converts than there are Catholic Spaniards. Furthermore, to choose a Muslim identity in Spain is to choose an identity with a stigma and a great deal of misunderstanding surrounding it. The difference in reception of the Muslim Andalusian identity in the two countries of Spain and Morocco has in large part to do with the fact that one is a Muslim country and one is a Christian country. This fact is also a part of the way that each countries' citizens have regarded the Islamic presence in Spain. On the Moroccan side Islamic Spain is seen as a victory and a time of great achievement. On the Spanish side Islamic Spain is only in part these civilizational accomplishments. Much of the history of Islamic Spain known to a Spaniard is a history of

reconquest and Christian victory over the Spanish Muslims. A popular example is the Fiestas de Moros y Cristianos where the reconquest of all Spain from Moorish control is re-enacted each year around the time of the carnivals. This representation of Muslims in Spain is a stark contrast to the status of Andalusian Moroccans in Morocco, who have clout, not stigma, in being Andalusian. Andalusian Moroccans are descendants of a civilization highly valued by other Moroccans and Muslims in general. Finally, Andalusian Moroccans claim a European and Arab descent in a society that strongly values both. On the other side, in Spain, the Muslim Andalusian identity carries the contrasts: contemporary Spanish muslim Andalusians are converts to Islam in a Christian society, and contemporary Spanish Muslim Andalusians are claiming blood descent to a stigmatized underground group whose origins were Jewish and/or Muslim in a society that celebrates its European Christian roots far above its North African Muslim and Jewish roots³. The important difference in the Spanish Muslim Andalusian identity is that it is a part of a revitalization movement, similar to those described by Wallace (1957), which draws upon many sources in the construction of a lost past. Thus, unlike the other identities discussed here, the "persistence" of the Spanish

³Some people deny that the Spanish heritage has any influences other than European.

Muslim Andalusian identity is a far more self-conscious identity in its expression because it is a part of a revitalization movement that is giving voice to this identity that has not expressed in Spain for 500 years.

Each community discussed above--Moroccan Andalusians from Rabat and Spanish Andalusians living in Granada--claim their ancestry to the Moriscos of Spain and further back, to Islamic Spain before the completion of the Christian Spanish Reconquista. Both groups live in a time frame created by their interpretation of the history of al-Andalus and of who they are in the historical continuum: both live in Andalus time. However, for this time to exist for each group, different community structures in the present are needed. For the Spanish converts to Andalusian Islam in Granada, they must stick together both as a community of worship and as a physical entity by living in one neighborhood, the old Muslim neighborhood of Granada, where they can recreate their vision of pre-1492 Granada. By contrast, for the Muslim Rabati Andalusians in Morocco, to live in Andalus time does not require the same tightness of co-existence. While the Rabati Andalusians do tend to live in the same neighborhoods and socialize with each other, they are more socially fluid as a group and do not persistently need to be in each others' presence in order to feel they are still Andalusian. In other words, if a Rabati Andalusian went to live in a non-Andalusian area of Morocco, he or she would

still feel that being Andalusian is a part of his or her central identity: the historical continuity combined with the high value Moroccan society places on the Andalusian identity guarantee this. However, when the Spanish convert leaves Granada, he or she has no society-wide support for his or her identity. By leaving the community in Granada, the Spanish convert risks either a diminished sense of meaning to his identity or an alienation of who he is.

Finally, Andalus time for the Rabati Andalusian possesses qualities of both of Eliade's time frames: tempus and eternitas (Stirrat, 1984:199-215). This is because from the Rabati Andalusian perspective Andalus time is both a part of everyday mundane activities because of the society's recognition of the Andalusian heritage, and also it is a part of the collective nostalgia, the timeless more sacred time frame of al-Andalus. For the Spanish Muslim Andalusian converts living in Granada, Andalus time forever resides in eternitas time because the society around the converts does not offer enough of a daily feedback into the importance of Andalus for their daily activities to become a part of the society's tempus. Instead, the converts go to their own butcher, visit in their own tea houses (theirs are the only tea houses since Spaniards generally consume coffee, not tea), buy produce and other products (whole-grain breads, incense, Moroccan tea pots, are some of the common goods) from their community of converts and consequently are

recreating in their minds and through their daily activities a timeless space where old Granada again lives, as long as they do not leave their group or the Albaicin, the medieval Muslim neighborhood of Granada.

V. Conclusions and Contributions

This dissertation has explored the continuity of the Andalusian identity in Morocco, since the last arrival of refugees from Spain. What is peculiar about the Moroccan Andalusian identity's persistence compared to many other identities discussed in anthropological research, is that it has persisted in spite of the lack of a distinct linguistic or religious division within the broader society and in the presence of cultural assimilation with surrounding social groupings. The ideas gained from assimilation and acculturation studies in anthropology are largely concerned with the assimilation process of a dominated group into the dominant culture (Herskovits, 1937 and 1938; and Linton, 1940 and 1943). These studies also consider the longevity of an ethnic identity of the dominated group as occurring when there is little cultural assimilation, a clear difference in language between other surrounding groups to assure isolation, or that the ethnic group in question is of

a distinct or separatist religion⁴. However, not only is the Andalusian identity not an identity of a dominated group but also, none of the three mentioned factors are relevant to the persistence of the Andalusian identity. When the Moriscos first arrived in Rabat, their religious ambiguity was indeed an immediate repellant to neighboring Moroccans. Yet, religious separation did not last long and after the

⁴For a summary of these ideas in the literature, see D.L. Horowitz, "Ethnic Identity", and W.C. McCready, ed, Culture, Ethnicity, and Identity. Also, one of the few ethnographic studies which looks at the actual process of the persistence of identity, N. Davis' Ethnicity and Ethnic Group Persistence in an Arcadian Village in Maritime Canada, concludes that the main reason for the persistence of the Arcadian identity was the retention of an ethnic language. Liebman ("The Jews as an Ethnic Group in the Americas During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", 1978), who also looked at the process of identity persistence but from a historical time frame, writes that, "There are four reasons for the survival of the Jewish ethnic group from 1550-1700 in the Americas despite powerful opposition by the dominant authorities. The motivating and supportive factors were: messianism and strong religious beliefs and practices; endogamy and the role of the Jewish female; farda [a form of tax...paid by Jews and Muslims for the respective support of their communities in the Holy Land." (1978:102)] and its contribution to the revival of indigenous culture; [and] spiritual oppression with its effect upon Judeo-Spanish stubbornness" (1978:97). While I find the explanation of Liebman's fourth reason for ethnic persistence, the effect of spiritual oppression upon Judeo-Spanish stubbornness not seriously defined enough and too general, the elements of ethnic persistence here nonetheless reflect the response of a minority group to religious oppression. Religious stigma among the Morisco Andalusians was small-scale and short-lived. The Moriscos, especially after the loss of independence of their pirate republic, assimilated very quickly to Islamic practices in Morocco, but not so quickly to cultural practices.

Vaziri also reiterates the idea that continuity of an identity can only occur through the distinguishing features of linguistics, religion, or cultural differentiation (1993:7, Iran as Imagined Nation. NY:Paragon House).

loss of independence of the Andalusian Pirate Republic of Rabat, the Moriscos were religiously integrated into the Muslim beliefs and practices if they had not done so previous to their city's loss of independence. Linguistic divisions were more long-lived than religious ones. Some oral accounts of Andalusian history in Rabat claim that much Spanish was still used in the Rabati dialect well into the 1800's. Even today there are a few words, perhaps 150, pointing to their Spanish origins within the Rabati Arabic dialect. Yet, Arabic was quickly acquired by the Morisco settlers, even if some Spanish continued to be used. Finally, cultural assimilation did occur in that the Rabati Andalusians became proficient in the culture around them. Though, as T. Erikson has pointed out, cultural assimilation does not necessarily mean cultural homogeneity (1992). A person can learn to understand the ways of surrounding groups and interact accordingly with them and still maintain their own separate cultural system within their own ethnic group. The oral histories of the Andalusians of Rabat consistently pointed to the fact that cultural differences maintained within the Andalusian families kept the Andalusians separate from the rest of the society. It is very likely that this cultural isolation was tolerated because it was Andalusian and other Moroccans valued their Andalusian traditions and also sought to adopt many of them for themselves. Thus, unlike classical definitions of

acculturation which consider the dynamics of a dominant group with non-dominant group, this study has shown that the acculturation process may exist where the supposed non-dominant group, with certain associated attributes valued by the dominant group, can choose more freely how their group's culture will change⁵.

The study by R.J. Smith (1963), on the retention of the East Indian ethnic identity in Trinidad under acculturative processes should challenge the idea that acculturation occurs only if strong cultural differences are maintained. Smith argues that the East Indians in Trinidad have both assimilated to the dominant culture of Trinidad while also retaining their identity as East Indians and as Muslims. However, this balance was not an unconscious one. When Smith considered the whole history of the East Indian Trinidadian village in which he worked, he found that what he observed as a cultural resistance to complete assimilation was really a revitalization. In other words, the East Indians had been more assimilated into Trinidadian society a few decades before Smith arrived for his research. The revitalization occurred along the two lines of a pan-South Asian Islamic revival movement which reached the

⁵This is discussed with Herskovits' ideas of "directed culture change" in mind which addresses the process through which the dominant society "directs" the cultural change of the non-dominant group. It essentially means that the non-dominant group has little choice in the change whereas the dominant culture, in as much as change exists on a conscious level, does have the control.

Trinidadian Muslim Indians via publications from leading Pakistani religious intellectuals and via some individuals' pilgrimage to the "homeland", and of a re-definition of the family organization in Indian Trinidadian homes as being exclusively Muslim and Indian, not Trinidadian. Concerning the first revitalization, that of religion, this was a re-introduction of the practices and ideas of being Muslims and of being incorporated into the wider community of faithful around the world. Concerning the second revival, family organization did not change, it was simply consciously discussed as distinct from other Trinidadians because of certain child-rearing and marriage customs that were associated with Islam rather than with Trinidad. While Smith is arguing that the East Indian identity of Trinidad persisted because of a revitalization movement in the middle of the twentieth century and that it has survived in spite of strong acculturative processes, he has really constructed an artificial study of identity's persistence. I say this for two reasons. First, the East Indian identity really waned and resurfaced in a conscious revitalization, much like the Andalusian identity among the Spanish converts in southern Spain. This is different from the Moroccan Andalusian identity which never waned because of the importance of the Andalusian heritage for all Moroccans. Second, the fact that the East Indian families retained distinct family structures--even though they only recently

began calling their family structures as distinct-- throughout the period of the Indian presence in Trinidad means that the Indians never fully assimilated and that the acculturative pressures were not as complete as Smith argued. Smith's study allows me to clarify what is different about the assimilation of the Andalusians from Rabat: they arrived in Morocco with the stigma of baptism and soon thereafter of piracy and yet they also arrived with an origin from al-Andalus, connecting them to the much valued Moroccan heritage. Thus, the Andalusians of Rabat were able to assimilate into a more complete form of their own heritage than they were permitted to practice in Spain. Through time, this allowed the Rabati Andalusian assimilation into Moroccan society while also using their assimilated identity of being Andalusian to move them into the top social hierarchies of the Moroccan society. This occurred not only because Moroccans value the Andalusian culture of the past, but also because the Andalusian identity was being used to argue a European as well as Arab identity for Moroccans during a time that European culture was, and still is, the dominating power in the world. It is the ability of the Andalusian identity to connect itself to both European and to Arab hegemony that gives it its power in Morocco and to Moroccan Andalusians.

An important consideration in the acculturation process, therefore, is that of ethnic stratification. Most

groups that have been studied toward understanding acculturation have been of groups at the bottom end of their societies' ethnic group hierarchies. The Andalusian ethnic groups of Morocco, contrastingly, are at the top range of Moroccan society's ethnic strata. Andalusians, as group as a whole, regardless of when certain Andalusians arrived in Morocco, are recognized by other Moroccans and by themselves as possessing a distinct culture. This distinct culture is also considered the general "classical" culture that the Moroccan nation proudly claims for all its people. Also, the ability of the Andalusian culture to both be distinct (non-acculturated) and paradoxically the general Moroccan classical culture (acculturated) has allowed the integration of a particular group of refugees, the Moriscos, who both possessed the Andalusian identity while they were also a stigmatized group for having been baptized and then for having engaged in piracy. Over the past four centuries of the Morisco descendants' presence in Morocco, they have redefined themselves as mainstream Andalusians. The result was that the Andalusians from Morisco origins, those of Rabat in the focus of this study, both retained their special culture while they gained privileges in the society at large which in turn recognized their special Rabat Andalusian culture as a part of Morocco's idealized general classical culture. Stepping out into the larger arena of all the Andalusians of Morocco, not just those in Rabat, is

the fact that whether they came to Morocco as Muslim refugees from a violent Cordoba (early eleventh century), as Muslim refugees from a Granada (re-)conquered by Christians in 1492, or as baptized crypto-Muslims or true Christians from the 1609 expulsions, all Andalusians were refugees. If the coregional North Africans that any of these Andalusian refugee groups settled near did not hold the culture of Islamic Spain in high esteem and in romantic and nostalgic favor, the Andalusians would most likely have assimilated to the surrounding cultures as indistinct and at the lower end of the ethnic strata. Thus, in conclusion, the Andalusian identity has a built in flexibility because of its importance to Moroccans. This importance has become more pronounced as Moroccan affairs have become entwined with European affairs. Today Moroccans, as a nation, define themselves as being from both the east and the west. The Andalusian identity is the only identity that can stake a legitimate claim to this fusion (unless you consider the Berber mythology of transmediterranean origins, but that is too far back in history for most people to engage, other than Berber nationalists). Thus, it is also argued here that the phenomenon observed here of the Andalusian identity in Morocco is not one influenced by the fact that it is in a Muslim society, which really has little bearing on the patterns of this identity. Rather, it is a phenomenon that reflects the identity negotiation of a society that has

fallen under European cultural hegemony while also trying to preserve its non-European cultural features, including, but not limited to, religion. It is possible that other cultures, whether Islamic or of another religious culture, that are coming out of long periods of European domination and that are also accepting the global affair with things European, will have complex and flexible identities at the top of their socioethnic hierarchies that can straddle both the native traditions and the European influences.

In conclusion, in spite of the lack of linguistic, religious, or clear cultural divisions, the Andalusian identity is a historical identity with the ability to contemporize itself over and over into relevant and modern contexts. As Djamgherchinson has written about persistent traditions: "the conservative traditions have disappeared while the progressively oriented traditions have been propagated and expanded" (1978:91) Djamgherchinson's discussion of tradition applies as well to identity. The complexity and societal values placed on the Andalusian identity give it the ability to change with the society and to modernize itself without losing its traditional flavor: a balance most Moroccans are seeking to strike. Thus the sources of this ability of regeneration are the same reasons for its persistence: a diverse past offering many images from which the modern individual can draw; intergenerational continuity; a complexity of expression in many contexts

because of the diverse images and values assigned the Andalusian identity; and finally, the high value placed on the Andalusian identity by both in- and out-groups as a learned and civilized identity. Above all, it is this attribute of the Andalusian identity as a learned and cultured identity, one of tarbiyyah and ḥadārah which intersects with all the four reasons for the identity's persistence. This high value placed on the Andalusian identity facilitated historical continuity, gave it complexity, and made the identity relevant to others outside the Andalusian group as a positive reference group. One could go as far as to say that the Andalusian identity represents many of the ideals which Morocco holds for itself and many of the ideals which Moroccans wish to communicate to the outside world.

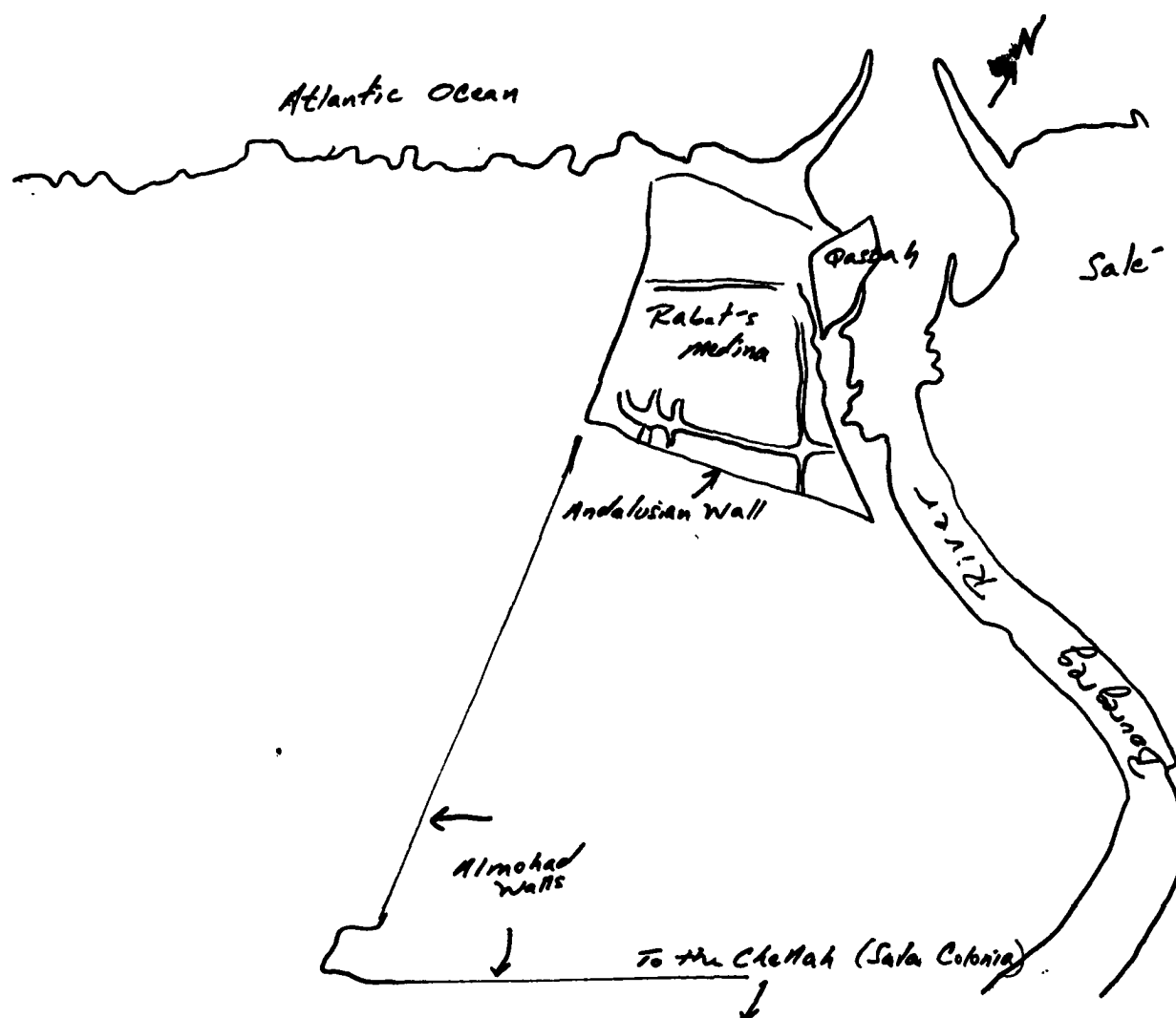
This dissertation contributes both theoretically and ethnographically to the anthropological literature. Theoretically, this dissertation treats identity, like culture, as multidimensional both in space and time. By looking at a particular identity's manifestation in time, several approaches to identity from anthropology both have been used and, I believe, have been added to. Most previous studies of identity in anthropology have focused on a single time dimension of that identity (Goffman, 1959), or have considered the identity as processual and changed by time but nevertheless focus on the present expression of that

identity (Hallowell, 1954 and 1955; Herskovits, 1938; Goodenough, 1965 and 1989; and Wallace, 1967, 1969, and 1970). These studies are invaluable in our understanding of identity and I have especially utilized them in gaining an understanding of what the Andalusian identity is and means in contemporary Moroccan society. Particularly, as mentioned above, I have drawn on Goffman's interactive model of identity negotiation, Wallace's idea of total identities, Wallace's and Hallowell's ideas of identity as a symbol of world view and ethos, Goodenough's perspective on the status and role that an identity defines within a society, and Hyman and Merton's ideas of identity formation through the use of reference groups. Building off of these perspectives, I have extended my investigation of identity into a processual time frame. In so doing, I have shown that there indeed are certain patterns that can be discerned about an identity's persistence (that is, historical continuity, intergenerational continuity, complexity, and reference grouping). Moreover, this dissertation has extended acculturation studies by Herskovits (1938) and Hallowell (1945a) by considering the acculturation of a group which possesses attributes desired by the dominant host society.

Ethnographically, this dissertation contributes an understanding of a group of people, the Moroccan Andalusians, so far not studied by anthropologists, or even

more broadly, by other social scientists, in spite of (or because of) the Andalusians' social and cultural position in Morocco. Moreover, in looking at the Andalusians of Rabat, this dissertation also contributes to the study of an elite group, which is a stratum of society that is not widely represented in the anthropological literature.

Appendix



MAP 1: Seventeenth Century Rabat
(Not to scale).

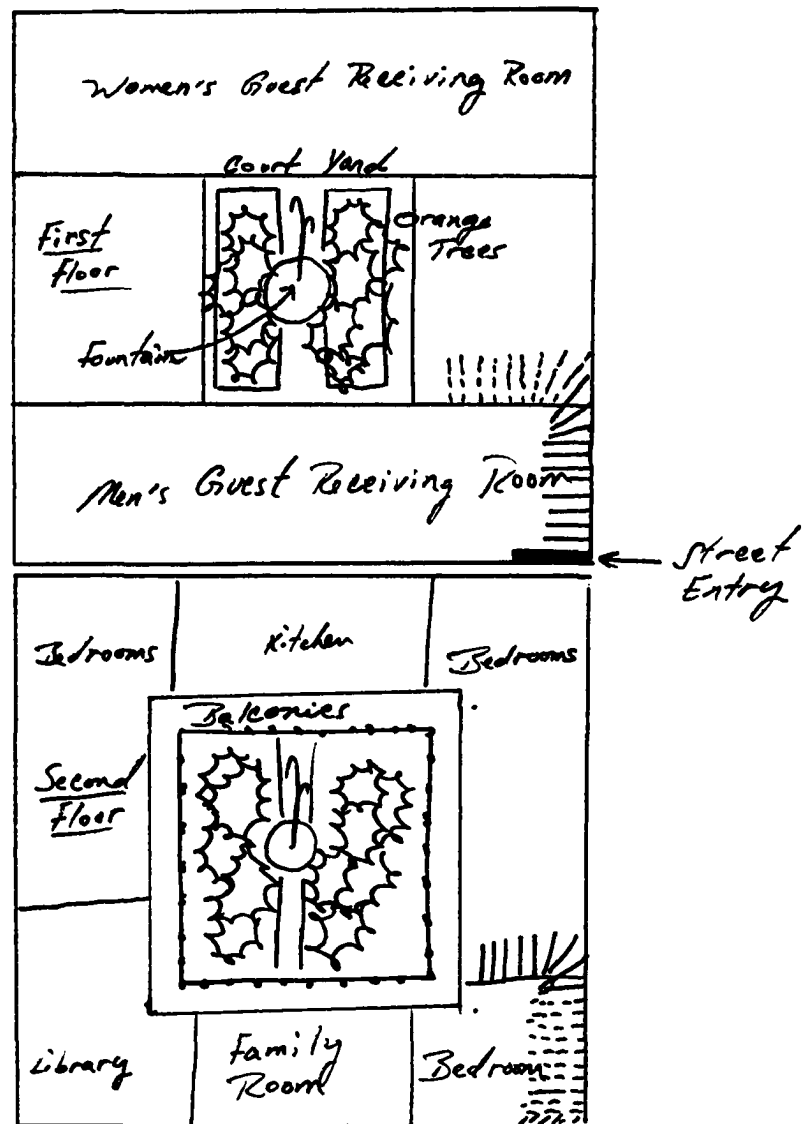


Diagram 1: General diagram, not to scale, of a typical traditional Andalusian home.

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